A RESEARCH IN MARRIAGE

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MEDICAL RESEARCH PRESS — New York

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MEDICAL RESEARCH PRESS
100 Park Avenue, New York 17

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PUBLISHER'S FOREWORD

A decade before Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey and his colleagues undertook their monumental study of *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male,* an outstanding American psychiatrist, working almost secretly but with the sanction of one of the highest scientific research organizations, began to obtain in the privacy of his New York consultation room these extensive self-revelations which have become a landmark in the objective study of sexual behavior. What you are about to read is an account of that four year research in marriage which involved intimate personal examinations of one hundred married men and an equal number of married women. Its general publication today in the original, complete, unexpurgated form is made possible by the revolution in sexual *mores* which is going on today.

A Research In Marriage remains a unique book. Unlike the Kinsey Report it is a comparative study of *male and female* sexual behavior with the greater part of the volume given over to case history presentations of what the two hundred men and women involved in this study had to say about themselves, their spouses and the ways of marital, pre-marital and extra-marital sexual life. Like the Kinsey Report, however, this pioneer study of sexual behavior was undertaken at the suggestion and with the support of The National Research Council's Committee for Research on Problem's of Sex. It is acknowledged by Dr. Kinsey and his colleagues as one of the few studies which are scientific and taxonomic in treat-

ment. Dr. Hamilton's findings are corroborated by the Kinsey Report which says of *A Research In Marriage*: " . . . the findings more or less match our own for white, college-bred, urban males between 30 and 35 years of age."

A Research In Marriage should add much to our understanding of what are the outstanding problems of sex in marriage.

LEAR PUBLISHERS

PREFACE

We are all agreed that a serious imbalance has been created by the concurrence of an enormous advance in material civilization and a stubbornly persistent spiritual barbarism, and that something ought to be done about it. The psychiatrist can do his share, not as one of the high priests of a special caste, but as a coordinate in a large and vocationally diversified group. Of course the specialist in the pathology of human nature has much of value to contribute, but so have many other kinds of specialists. The philosopher, for example, can help us to do clear thinking in our efforts to define universally valid aims of human life. Then there are the proponents of religion, whose privilege it is to lead and hold men to beliefs in an underlying scheme of things which implies the supreme desirability of pursuing such aims. We must look to the educators for the development and execution of tuitional plans which shall not only impart knowledge but disclose the importance of its intangible as well as its tangible functions. Jurists and lawyers in general are in a position to tell us how the state can further, by its laws and the machinery for their execution, all human aims which make for spiritual civilization. The medical profession, including surgeons, internists and nurses as well as psychiatrists, is traditionally committed to the furtherance of healthy minds in healthy bodies. Journalists, essayists and all other writers who think in terms of human progress can appraise and coordinate all sorts of corrective schemes, including their own.

With such an imposing array of professionals in its service mankind might reasonably hope to make rapid progress toward reducing the imbalance in question if it were not for one very serious delinquency of which they all stand accused: they talk too much about how human

nature ought to function and don't pay enough attention to how it actually does function. It is easy enough to contemplate the strikingly pathological end-products of mismanaged childhood, but it is not so easy to face ourselves as exemplifying what is probably true of the great rank and file of other so-called "normal" persons. We do not wish to know that, almost from the day of birth, the state, society and most persons (including our parents) whose lives intimately touch our own unwittingly conspire to make us bad and stupid when we grow up and assume spousal and parental responsibilities.

An almost freakish combination of circumstances made it possible for me to obtain intimate and extensive self-revelations from two hundred married persons who are serious-minded, more or less importantly occupied and well above the average as to intelligence and cultural attainment. At least half of them could be rated as "normal" in the sense that their spousal, parental, social and vocational adjustments conform to standards which are not exceeded by the majority of Americans. Nevertheless, it would be over-optimistic to say that as many as five percent of them have escaped more or less serious damage by preventable things which were done to them during childhood. This book presents (1) some of the more important things that happened to the two hundred spouses of my study during their childhood, and (2) their present beliefs, attitudes, predicaments and characteristic modes of performance with reference to sex and marriage. It is therefore in a measure a study of the child in the adult.

I have tried to make this material accessible to a class of persons who represent many different kinds of vocational training, but this has proved to be a difficult and awkward task. Ordinarily, when one wishes to bring a long list of facts to the attention of an extensive and diversely trained group of readers, he finds it desirable to weave them into a popular exposition of some explanatory scheme which gives

them a kind of unity. I could not do this without thereby sacrificing an important objective, which is to present the facts for appraisal by others from as many different angles as are possible within the limits of clear and realistic modes of thought. The simplest, briefest way that I could devise was to catalogue them in tables. I am a psychiatrist, and I have therefore appraised them here and there in terms of my own training and professional interests; but it is to the facts themselves, rather than what I have to say about them, that the reader's attention is invited.

A minor difficulty is contained in the possibility that a few misguided dealers might exploit this book as having an erotic interest. This would not only be unfair to its intention, but a fraudulent misrepresentation of goods to persons who seek vicarious satisfaction of the sex instinct. My publishers will meet this difficulty by keeping it out of the hands of such dealers.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In August, 1924, a committee of scientists invited me to undertake a research in the problems of sex in the marital relation, and upon my acceptance of this offer placed at my disposal a sufficient grant of money to finance such a project.

I am indebted to this committee, not only for the opportunity to engage in an interesting research, but for their unfailingly generous support throughout the period of my relation to them as the recipient of a grant for which they held themselves accountable.

Mrs. Gladys Terry, my first assistant, has placed me under many obligations for her part in the work that is now brought to a completion. I am also greatly indebted to my assistants, Mrs. Evelyn Price and Mrs. Doris Zinn, for indispensable contributions to the advancement of it.

Miss Alice Merry has ably discharged both secretarial functions and those of an assistant.

The two hundred spouses who gave their time and confidences, and whose records supplied the material for this report, will always be gratefully remembered.

Among the acknowledgments which I wish to make here there is one which, from a debtor's standpoint, is too important to be given out of context with certain explanatory considerations:

My standpoint is that of the psychiatrist who believes that subjective phenomena, *as these are experienced by the persons who report their occurrence,* do not need to be translated into anything else in order to be dealt with as objectively as we deal with all other biological phenomena. Nevertheless, in my studies I have been dependent at every

turn on Freud's insights into the detailed workings of human nature, and I cannot adequately express my admiration for his genius. My failure to accept his "Metapsychology" is due to my belief that whenever he attempts to fit his insights into systematic accounts of human psychodynamics he falls into three serious errors: (1) he is overschematic, (2) he is too much given to piecing out facts with speculative material, and (3) his concepts have a too metaphorical presentation to meet the requirements of those who are committed to the ideals of scientific realism.

Now scientific research is, to my mind, the most satisfying activity in which one can be engaged, and psychobiology the most interesting of all the many different fields in which an investigator may pursue his explorations. But research, to be satisfying as an occupation, must carry with it a sense of progress in a generally right and productive direction. One may have a certain conviction that the nature of his material is such that he is doomed to flounder in morasses of faulty methods and imperfect generalizations to the end of his days and yet have a very good time as he goes along if only he believes that he is headed in the right direction. In my own case it seems to me that I have done more than my share of floundering, but I have had throughout a comfortable sense of being fairly well oriented as to my research objectives. In taking stock of my flounderings I now find that I have absorbed and used concepts, views and orientations which Adolf Meyer exposed to me at intervals over a period of nine years—from 1907 to 1916. During that period my own experience and habits of mind did not always make it possible for me to accept what he had to say without a good many sterilizing qualifications. I may still be misconceiving his teachings, but it seems to me that what Meyer tried to tell me was this: Never wander a hair's breadth from the facts of subjective experience in an impatient effort to make logical constructions gratify your urge to explain things. Sufficiently patient and pro-

longed observation may be expected to disclose, in time, various natural lines of cleavage within the total psychodynamic set-up of the individual, and when enough patients are studied in this spirit we or our successors shall come to know what particular types of events—both inner and outer—characteristically occur in recognizable constellation and sequence patterns.

It is not always easy to understand Meyer—largely, I suspect, because his generalizations are in terms of the phenomena involved, are relatively free from speculative supplementations and have reference to more natural and more comprehensive phenomenal groupings than a Kraepelinian-Freudian trained generation of psychiatrists can grasp. It has been only within recent years that I have come to realize that it is Meyer who has kept me chronically dissatisfied with anything suggestive of a static and fatalistic nosology without driving me into an uncritical acceptance of either Freud's too speculatively grounded metapsychology or any one of the lesser schematisms which make bids for lazy-minded acceptance of over-simple explanatory formulations. More concretely, the whole of the twenty-first chapter (Sequences and Patterns) in the present volume, in so far as it implies a particular approach to the problems of psychobiology, is a sheer appropriation of views and concepts which Meyer disclosed to me in conversations at various times between 1907 and 1916. Fairness to him requires me to make this statement, and yet there is an element of unfairness in making it: his grasp of the phenomena that we have in mind when we think of human psychodynamics is a matter about which only Meyer himself is qualified to speak.

CHAPTER I

Problems, Aims and Methods

This is an account of a research in marriage which has involved intimate personal examinations of one hundred married men and an equal number of married women, most of whom are well under forty years of age, residents of New York City, and classifiable as having attained a relatively high level of culture. A considerable number of them are persons of outstanding intellectual or artistic achievement. Some of these two hundred spouses rate their marriages as essentially successful ventures, and others are either separated or divorced; but in between these two groups lie several connecting subgroups whose records contain some of my most interesting material.

The twentieth chapter gives various statistical details concerning all cases, such as date of birth and of marriage, education, vocation, income, etc.; but the greater part of this volume is given over to analytical presentations of what the various spouses had to say about themselves, their spouses and the institution of marriage. This first chapter is meant to give a general orientation as to why the research was made, what was expected to be derived from it, and what was done to induce two hundred more or less importantly occupied persons to make intimately revealing disclosures about themselves.

It was no very difficult matter to obtain the necessary two hundred subjects. Most persons like to talk about themselves if they are given an opportunity to do so under conditions which assure them that it is a safe and dignified thing to do. In the beginning a friend persuaded a few generous volunteers that such conditions would obtain, and in a more general way vouched for my status as a research

psychiatrist to various groups from which we hoped to derive an adequate number of satisfactory subjects. Within a few weeks after the project was under way the persons who had completed their examinations saw to it that there should be no lack of spouses to study. I suspect that another, less tangible, factor which favored the enterprise is the public's assumption that we psychiatrists are scientific men who have some kind of magic which we employ for the benefit of those who are utterly frank with us. It is not irrelevant to one of the intentions of the present chapter to state that we have no scientifically valid findings upon which to base any technology whatsoever for dealing with the more significant manifestations of human nature; and that our magic is probably nothing more than a joint function of our traditional status as physicians and our acquired knack of making guesses about human nature which are so convincing to our own minds that they convince our patients.

II

It is in the main true of Americans that we proceed on the assumption that marriage is an adequate solution of the healthy individual's sex problems. This would seem to find support in the circumstance that our numerically most important group of adults can safely be said to approve of marriage and to give political support to legislators who seek to safeguard it as an institution. While it is generally recognized that our high divorce rate is in need of explanation, we rather typically take it for granted that divorce is symptomatic of unwholesome social trends which unfavorably affect individual capacity for adjustment to most of the situations attributable to the major cravings of human nature. Perhaps most of us would sum up the matter by saying that if a man and a woman who are reasonably well adjusted to life as a whole fall in love and marry they will find in this relationship a permanently satisfying

sex life unless they are exposed to seriously bad environmental influences. This statement would be qualified, of course, by a recognition of the fact that cases are occasionally encountered in which one spouse or the other is rendered sexually inadequate by physical disease, accident, or exhausting vocational demands.

Such a formulation of the problems of marriage cannot, of course, go unchallenged. There is, after all, the high divorce rate, and we cannot ignore the fact that a great many spouses who go on living together find in marriage a hateful bondage, a dreary, long-drawn-out harassment and a stultifying relationship. If this were true of only the all-around maladjusted ones and of their spouses, it might fairly be said that the institution of marriage is not thereby impeached. But one finds at every turn apparent evidence that a significantly large number of persons who can comfortably adapt themselves to almost any ordinary type of non-marital human relationship fail to make of marriage anything like a tolerable situation for themselves.

The research of which an account is given in this volume proceeds from the following general problem:

Is marriage in itself a faulty institution in that it prescribes a mode of relationship between spouses which tends, in the end, either seriously to impair or to destroy an originally established congeniality and an originally high sexual reactive value of spouse for spouse? Or does the fault lie essentially in the kinds of reactive equipment that environmental influences tend to build up for us throughout infancy, childhood and adolescence?

The logical approach to such a problem is, in my opinion, fairly obvious. When we examine any group of interrelated phenomena for the purpose of explaining them so that we can do something corrective about them, our first

Note: Although this book is a report of the results of an investigation which was specifically concerned with the problems of sex in the marital relation, it is assumed in the text, as it was throughout my research, that the sexual aspect of marriage cannot be profitably studied out of context with the more important non-sexual aspects of spousal life.

task is one of description. In the present instance we are dealing with manifestations of human nature which must be described largely in terms of what individual spouses have to say about (1) their past lives, (2) their respective spouses, and (3) their own present predicaments, attitudes and habitual or characteristic modes of performance. *Chapter II* contains a complete list of the questions which were asked for the purpose of eliciting this type of information and a description of the method of asking them.

III *

Various persons who were more or less familiar with the nature of my research while it was in progress asked me what I expected to do with the answers which the 200 spouses gave to my questions and what value I expected this material to have. Most of them seemed to have an unshakable conviction that I was undertaking a survey—in the sense of seeking to determine what was probably characteristic of some particular age, cultural, regional or social group of New York spouses. Repeated denials on my part that I had any such intention seem to have been rather futile, since the same persons have continued to remind me that highly selective factors must have entered into the determination of what 200 spouses I should have for my study. They have also warned me that data from this small number of cases can have but little value for purposes of statistical analysis and interpretation. Such objections are statements of obvious fact, but they are irrelevant to a discussion of my work in terms of its primary intention. In the present chapter I hope to clear up all possible misunderstanding on this point, so that the remainder of the report can be devoted to a factual presenta-

* For the benefit of those who have not read the preface, it should be stated that from this point Chapter I may prove to be rather dully technical reading for persons whose professional interest in the problems of marriage is not that of the psychiatrist. All such persons can safely skip the remainder of the present chapter: it contains no presentations of findings which are not given in the main body of the text.

tion of findings with a minimum of allusion to matters about which there might be controversy. Such controversial axes as I may have to grind will be attended to forthwith.

In comprehensive studies of the more significant manifestations of human nature we are really dealing with sequences of natural phenomena, some of which, we suspect, are classifiable as determinants and others as resultants thereof. Initially, however—if we wish to adhere to an attitude of scientific realism—we can only say that such and such inner and outer events in the life of the individual under examination fall into antecedent-subsequent sequences.* In psychiatry we have largely followed the dictates of common sense in arriving at the conclusion that certain of the antecedents in such sequences are essential determinants of certain of the subsequents. We have ignored the fact that there are rules of scientific evidence which must be respected here if we are to arrive at more than shrewd guesses and empirically grounded impressions in our efforts to explain human nature in terms of its determination. Among these rules is a fundamentally important one which has been ignored in practically all comprehensive psychiatric studies. It is this: *when a method of observing phenomena is in itself a part determinant of them, this method must be kept constant for all cases from which comparable data are sought.* Of course variations of method are permissible wherever their effects can be accurately measured; but in studying human nature, where asking questions is an essential part of any research, measurability of such variations is almost sure to be lacking.

Now it is obvious that if we are ever to know with any degree of conclusiveness whether a determinant-resultant relationship exists between particular types of events (or

*"Cause and effect" is a metaphysical and not a scientific concept. The scientist merely calls attention to the invariability with which given types of events occur in sequence. Cf. Edward C. Warren's "A Study of Purpose": The Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods, Vol. XIII, No. 2, p. 30, January 20, 1916.

constellations of events) and particular subsequently manifested reactive tendencies we must not only study cases by methods which will yield comparable data, but we must also obtain findings from a sufficient number of cases to meet the requirements of various principles which govern statistical interpretation. The fallacy of *post hoc ergo propter hoc* is as often a function of too limited observation as of untrustworthy methods of observation. This point can be very simply exemplified. Let us suppose that we have forty pennies, half of which were coined in 1926 and half in 1927. We toss them into the air one at a time by a method which is kept constant for all the coins. Fourteen of the twenty 1926 pennies land tails up and fifteen of the twenty 1927 pennies land heads up. This suggests the possibility that the "head" side of 1926 pennies is heavier than the "tail" side, and that the opposite is true of 1927 pennies. A statistician could quickly enough express in mathematical form the correlation between date of coinage and the result of being tossed into the air once each—for the forty pennies of this particular experiment; but he would as quickly tell us that our finding is without significance because the number of cases was too small. On the other hand, from the standpoint of the director of the mint it may have disclosed a possibility of sufficient importance to justify a repetition of the experiment on a larger scale. It is for the director of the mint, and not for the statistician, to say what, if any, importance should be ascribed to the possibility disclosed by our experiment with the forty pennies.

In the case of research psychiatry our plight is somewhat similar to that of the hypothetical director of the mint before the pennies were tossed into the air by a method which gave comparable findings. Of the many persons who gamble by tossing pennies into the air there are some whose experiences convince them that in the long run you will win if you always bet on "heads up" and others who have the

opposite opinion. Neither side has, to my knowledge, developed a method of tossing pennies which excludes the possibility that it is generalizing from a string of accidental successes, or even that one may unwittingly develop a habit of tossing coins in a way which favors their landing heads up or tails up, as the case may be. In psychiatry we have before us a preliminary two-fold task with which we must busy ourselves for some time before the statistician can be of much help to us: (1) we must test the possibility of developing methods for the accumulation of data which shall have validity for purposes of statistical interpretation, and (2) whenever a proposed method of investigation appears to have met these requirements we must test its value for disclosing explanatory possibilities of importance. Once this task is well under way, we can look to existing agencies or, if necessary, create new ones for the accumulation of a sufficient mass of important and scientifically valid findings to justify efforts to effect statistical interpretations.

I do not mean to imply by the foregoing that what has already been done in psychiatry is unimportant. It is my belief, on the contrary, that psychiatry is fortunate to have had a prolonged pre-scientific period of development in which to study individual cases, unhampered by observance of methodological principles which must be observed when comparability of findings is desired. Nevertheless, we ought to face the fact that, although during the last several decades trainloads of case records have been accumulated in state hospitals for the insane, psychopathic hospitals, institutes of psychiatric research and private offices of psychoanalysts, it is doubtful if out of the entire mass a score of extensive case studies could be found which contains data of a sufficient degree of comparability to make possible anything more valid than common-sense inferences. This statement is based upon the following considerations:

1. An extensive case record cannot be obtained without asking many questions, most of which are inescapably part-determinants of the answers thereto because they elicit statements of subjective fact.

2. All comprehensive psychiatric examinations of which I have knowledge, including those which employ a psychoanalytic technique, do no more at most than follow in a very general way some standardized procedure. The details of examination procedure are varied from case to case, either with reference to therapeutic considerations or to certain exploratory aims of the examiner. This is, of course, an entirely legitimate method of case study, but it does not yield comparable data.

Personality studies which permit the subject to write his answers to questions under conditions unknown to the investigator have a definite value, as Davis' research has shown; but they are obviously untrustworthy where explanatory formulations of a comprehensive nature are sought. Even when the subject writes his answers in the investigator's presence, individual differences of capacity to make intimate self-revelations in writing are bound to reduce the comparability of findings to a serious degree. For this reason, among others, I employed the more laborious and time-consuming method that is described in the next chapter.

My research was a compromise between a desire to obtain as many comparable case records (i.e., comparable as to all details) as possible and a desire to make of each case record a comprehensive list of significant facts about the individual under examination. Of course neither objective was satisfactorily attained, but I believe that the succeeding chapters will show that in psychiatric research we can pay far greater respect to the rules of scientific evidence than has been our habit, and at the same time obtain findings of importance. The greater part of the present volume is merely a classified listing of the answers of all of the

200 spouses to each of the questions of the examination. The chief value of such a presentation is, I think, fairly obvious. The intimate and extensive self-revelations of these persons ought to improve our orientation as to what, explicitly, are some of the outstanding problems of sex in the marital relation with which we have to deal. The problem as to whether the relative frequency with which a particular type of response was given to a particular question is a fair index of what is true of men and women in general does not enter into consideration in a research of this kind. Some of these answers actually do invite attention to possibilities which will doubtless be of interest to students of the social sciences, but investigations of the survey type represent a less direct approach to the fundamental problems of sex than do the more intensive studies of research psychiatry. Furthermore, it is important to obtain descriptions of the phenomena involved by sound methods of investigation if we wish to formulate our problems with reference to factual rather than speculative considerations. This had to be done in research medicine as an initial step toward substituting explicitly explanatory formulations for a host of vague and semi-mystical doctrines such as, for example, the dictum that malaria is a product of bad night air, and that the mental disorder now known as paresis is due to worry and over-work.

I hope that in the foregoing I have made my peace with all survey-minded readers, and that my statistician friends will understand why I have not asked for their help in the evaluation of findings which are merely the results of an effort to test the possibility of obtaining comparable data in studies of some of the more significant manifestations of human nature. In the classified lists of answers will be found references to various correlations which appear to be sufficiently suggestive to justify their publication. It is to be understood that these are merely presented as facts of observation which may have no significance from a statisti-

cal standpoint, but which have psychiatrical value as disclosures of explanatory possibilities.

IV

I have much less confidence in my ability to make my peace with my psychiatrical colleagues, the psychoanalysts. Their reaction to a study of this kind is fairly predictable: it is likely to imply to their minds either a fundamental misconception of the real problems of sex or an unwittingly motivated effort to evade a serious consideration of such problems. My own enthusiastic conviction that Freud's insights correspond, in the main, to the realities of human psycho-dynamics, and that but for him we should still be floundering in the futilities of pre-dynamic psychiatry, makes it easy for me to understand the psychoanalysts' impatience with the proponents of less obsolete methods of research than those to which we are indebted for immeasurably the best guides to therapeutic endeavor that we have ever had. Perhaps I can somewhat mitigate this impatience, in so far as it may be directed toward my own propositions, by defining what, to my mind, are the outstanding methodological problems in research psychiatry. It should be made clear at this point that in what follows research methods and not therapeutic techniques are under discussion:

The psychiatrist deals with exceedingly complex phenomenal sequences of the stimulus-response type which require the assumption of (1) inner as well as outer sources of excitation, and (2) some sort of middle term or terms between these and what the individual can report as his mental experience. It is assumed that the adjustive movements or impulsions which directly follow initial excitation seldom, if ever, escape distorting redirection before they come to overt mental expression as the individual's consciously experienced thinking, feeling, desiring, loving, hating, accepting, rejecting, and intending. The failure of

primary (initially arising) adjustive impulsions to come to direct, unaltered expression in overt mental reaction appears to be due to inhibitive processes of which the individual is ordinarily unaware. It is the aim of research psychiatry to build up a technology which shall be based upon trustworthy inferences as to (1) the origin, nature and initial adjustive direction of these primary impulsions, and (2) the origin, nature and mode of function of the inhibitive processes which interfere with their direct expression in overt consciousness and behavior. Such inferences are to some extent derived from objectively verifiable observations of human behavior, but for the greater part they are derived from the recorded utterances of individuals whose behavior and mental reactions we seek to explain. Now the utterances in question are data which conform to two general types, each of which calls for separate examination:

1. Once the individual has been induced to put aside certain more or less consciously operative or "surface" inhibitions, he can give accounts of those terminal members of stimulus-response sequences which are his thinkings, feelings, desirings, etc. He can also give accounts of various inner and outer events in his life which may have entered into the determination of his present mental reactive tendencies. There arises a question here, of course, as to the value of such findings for purposes of reconstructing, by inference, entire psychobiologic sequences of the stimulus-response type, and of explaining the ontogenesis of such sequences. It has been my contention as an objectivist that whenever we find it desirable to postulate the middle terms of such sequences we should follow the so-called "rule of parsimony," which requires us to employ as few and as simple postulates as may seem to be required by the facts and the scientifically legitimate interpretations thereof. The psychiatrist who adopts this point of view will find that certain ontogenetic mechanisms—of which the conditioned

reflex is a prototype—can be profitably adduced for explanations of most of the scientifically valid findings with which he has to deal. When this is done Freud's "Superego" resolves itself into constellations of negative and positive conditionings, many of which function, whether inhibitively or positively, without coming to recognizably direct expression in overt mental reaction. The "Id" meets with the same fate at the hands of those who are willing to forego the mental luxury of postulating a host of convenient but treacherously mystical instincts.

If one is willing to proceed as objectively as a comprehensive survey of psychiatric facts will permit, findings of the type under discussion—i.e., self-revelations of persons who have been induced to put aside more or less consciously operative inhibitions—will often be found to afford valuable clues to the probable origin and dynamic configuration of stimulus-response sequences.

Before I had begun to apply the method of my present research to actual case studies there was a question in mind as to whether a rigidly uniform examination procedure would secure frank and spontaneous material of this type. It is a well-known fact of psychiatric experience that persons who undertake, voluntarily, to make the most intimate possible self-revelations develop a peculiar reactive relationship to the examiner. Even a very shy or reserved or cautious person will then seem to find pleasure in being brutally frank about himself. This relationship of patient to psychiatrist, which Rank designates "the analytic situation," and for which Freud uses the more interpretative word "transference," is likely to undergo reversals during the course of a psychoanalysis, so that there are periods during which the patient seems to resist the invitation to bring fearlessly into the open whatever may be fundamentally true of himself.

Now I found that, in spite of the rigidity of the procedure that my method required me to follow in examining the 200

spouses, the "analytic situation," or "transference," occurred as quickly as it does in ordinary clinical examinations of patients, and that it was equally effective. Furthermore, even in those cases whose examinations consumed a total of 25 or 30 hours the reversals of transference were so rare as to be practically negligible. In fact there were only 2 cases—1 percent of the total number—in which a flash of such reversal was apparent. I am familiar with Freud's * statement that "the transference occurs in the patient at the outset of the treatment and is, for a time, the strongest impetus to work"; and, of course, it may be objected that neither the technique employed nor the relatively small number of examinations would be likely to have precipitated episodes of "negative transference." However that may be, it is a methodological finding of importance that an examination procedure which is kept uniform for all cases can induce an uninterrupted abeyance of at least the "surface" inhibitions that stand in the way of frank self-revelation; and that even where the examinations are prolonged to cover a total of at least 30 hours, reversals of the necessary relationship to the psychiatrist are of negligible frequency.

2. Data obtained by the psychoanalytic technique have, theoretically, a quite different value from those that have just been discussed. The procedure employed by the Freudian analysts is as follows:

(*a*) After the ordinary case-record material is obtained and the patient has made such initial unburdening statements as he may feel impelled to make, he agrees to a series of one-hour sessions for four, five, or six days of each week.

(*b*) Before his first formal session is begun he is instructed to be as passive as possible, not consciously to direct or to criticize what may pass through his mind, and to give verbal expression to his currently arising mental proc-

* Freud, S. A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis, p. 383, 1920. New York.

esses without regard to their absurdity, disconnectedness or offensiveness. These are his "free associations." During a given session these may or may not have as their starting point material from a sleeping dream which he has narrated to the analyst.

(*c*) During these sessions he lies upon a couch, directly behind which the analyst sits, usually in silence.

(*d*) At some time after the session the analyst records from memory the patient's verbal productions and any behavior which may have impressed him.

(*e*) From time to time the analyst breaks his own silence by interposing interpretations of his patient's free associations in terms of what these imply as to the nature and origin of the underlying adjustive impulsions of which they are expressions in overt consciousness. A good analyst will often sit through many sessions without saying anything, but in the end many such interpolations occur in all cases, and the free associations which the patient produces *after his preceding ones have been interpreted for him by his analyst* are regarded as scientifically valid material from which to infer the nature of his underlying adjustive processes.

(*f*) The inferences which the analyst makes from his patient's verbal productions are either the former's common-sense reactions to them or direct "intuitions" which come from the analyst's own "unconscious" into his "conscious" as inspirations of the moment. I wish to stress the point that the inferences which are currently arrived at in this lawless manner are currently exposed to the patient, whose resistance to accepting them as true of him are discussed from time to time throughout the course of his analysis.

V

The major explanatory formulations of psychoanalysis, where they are not of purely speculative origin, are in-

ferences from material which is obtained by the above-described methods. Of course the free associations obtained from a patient by such methods can have no scientific validity for purposes of comparison with those obtained from other patients. Inferences drawn from such findings by Freud for purposes of exercising and expressing his great genius as a non-scientific student of human nature must always be treated with respect; but when they come from lesser mortals they are at best merely the clinically derived impressions of shrewd observers.

Freud has given us an invaluable orientation as to the probable nature of the dynamic middle terms that lie between stimulus and response. He has also supplied us with a list of explanatory possibilities which are likely to prevent research psychiatry from growing sterile for several generations to come. But I do not believe that our gratitude and admiration need blind us to the undesirability of following his example by placing ourselves above rules of evidence which are respected without quibble in all fields of natural science excepting our own. No justification for this can be found in the familiar plea that if we hobble ourselves with scientific rules our findings will be trivial and our insights of no value. Free associations and similar material which we obtain from patients, when we employ a special technique for the reduction of unwittingly operative inhibitions, can be elicited from as many persons, for as many sessions, by a rigidly stereotyped research procedure as by the ordinary psychoanalytic method. Results of some preliminary experimentation by which this possibility was tested justify such a statement. In the end we must look to both kinds of material that have been described in the foregoing when we are in quest of comparable data from which to infer our explanatory formulations in psychiatry. Missionary zeal for either a psychoanalytic or a non-psychoanalytic approach to our research problems is silly business. We ought to be scientists, not advocates.

CHAPTER II

The Method of Examination

The following are the main features of the examination to which the 200 spouses were subjected:

1. Each subject was examined separately in my private consulting room.

2. There were 372 questions * for the women who had been pregnant, 357 for those who had not been pregnant, and 334 for all men alike. The same questions were asked both sexes wherever this was possible, and where this could not be done by reason of sexual differences the men were given paraphrases of the questions for women. Of course there were questions concerning menstruation and pregnancy which did not apply to the men at all.

3. In order to keep the method of examination as nearly identical as possible for all cases I did not ask the questions orally, but presented them in typed form on 6 x 8 inch white cards. Forty-seven such cards were used for a woman's examination and 43 for a man's. Seven of the cards for each sex did not contain questions, but were used for purposes of explanation, definition of unfamiliar terms, etc. This was done because it was feared that orally given explanations might introduce an undesirable variability of examination procedure.

4. Before the first examination of a subject was begun, he was assured that his record would have the status of a confidential communication to a physician, and that in fu-

* Dr. Katharine B. Davis' mailed questionnaire study of 1,000 married women and 1,000 single women preceded my research, and yielded data of fundamental importance, not only to students of social hygiene and of human sex problems, but to psychiatry. For this reason I have included as many of her questions as the requirements of my own method would permit. In order to avoid tiresome repetition of references in the text of the present chapter, I have marked with a (D) all questions which were either taken in identical form from Dr. Davis' study or paraphrased to suit my purposes.

ture publications of my research findings no identifying references would be made to any case without the written consent of the person concerned.

5. During a preliminary oral statement to the subject it was explained that for methodological reasons the questions were given in typed form rather than orally, but that I wished him to "talk out" his answers to me as informally, spontaneously, and frankly as he would if we were engaged in a give-and-take conversation. I had feared that the subjects might be repelled by my failure to discuss their answers while the examinations were in progress, but this fear proved to be groundless. Each subject was told that he was entitled to a reasonable number of clinical appointments for discussions of his case at the conclusion of his examinations. The majority of them sought such appointments, thereby giving me an opportunity to repay them, as best I could, for their kindness in acting as subjects of the research.

6. After I had made my preliminary statement the subject was asked to sit in an easy chair which bore a fixed spacial relationship to my own chair and desk. It was necessary to tie the subject's chair to the wall in order to forestall the tendency that most persons have to draw closer to the recipient of confidences as these become more intimate and are more freely given.

7. The formal examination was begun by my passing "Card A" to the subject for him to read and answer. I took down, word for word and without comment, all that he said in response to each of the typed questions. This involved, in the end, a literal recording of more than 2,000,000 words of conversation. This, of course, was the most burdensome part of the work, but my experience convinces me that one cannot talk intimate self-revelations into any kind of automatic recording device, and that the presence of concealed microphones in the room would seriously impair the examiner's own sense of fair play in a situation

which calls for a felt intimacy of relationship on both sides. Of course the presence of a stenographer or of any other third person in the room was out of the question. It may be stated in this connection that only 203 cases had to be accepted for examination in order to obtain the 200 records. One of the three rejected cases was requested not to return at the end of the second two-hour session because her answers appeared to lack frankness. The other two records were not completed because the subjects found the examinations to be upsetting. I now wish that I had rejected three of the 200 records which are presented here—one, because the subject had to be admonished not to wander off into endless irrelevancies, and the other two because on analysis they appear to lack frankness.

8. Any intercurrent behavior that attracted my attention was entered in the record. Weeping and trips to the toilet were of especially frequent occurrence. The questions concerning erotic self-love and homosexuality appeared to be much more upsetting to the men than to the women. The women, on the other hand, were more likely to make trips to the toilet or to display other possible evidences of emotional upset while they were answering the questions concerning incestuous imaginations, impulsions, etc. It is to be regretted that a dependable measure of emotional disturbances was not obtained throughout the examinations.

9. The time required for a subject to read and answer all the questions varied from slightly more than two hours to more than thirty hours. Ordinarily, a session consumed two hours, and four such sessions were sufficient for the majority of subjects, but longer sessions were granted to those who wished to make as few trips to my office as necessary. The sacrifice of time and convenience required of all subjects, most of whom were not in need of psychiatric attention, had to be taken into account.

A given question might elicit a simple "yes" or "no" from one subject and several thousand words from another,

but in the end all but a very few of the records proved to be quite extensive autobiographies.

10. Where a husband and wife were both subjects of the research, a promise was exacted that they would refrain from discussing any phase of the examination with each other until it was all over. There were among them some who might favor legislation forbidding spouses to indulge in sex intercourse save for purposes of reproduction, and others whose views regarding what is permissible as to human sex behavior reflected the opposite extreme of attitude in such matters, but with a very few exceptions the records contain convincing evidence that I was dealing with an exceptionally honest group.

CARD A *

What is there in your marriage that is especially unsatisfactory to you?

CARD 1 †

1. *As nearly as you can recall, what was your husband's income for each year of your married life, including his expected income for the present year? (If his income has been more than $5,000.00 for any given year, you may simply say so, without specifying the amount.)*
2. *How much, if any, money have you earned during each year of your married life?*
3. *Have you now, or have you ever had since your marriage, any presents of money or of property from your parents or other relatives?*

* In order to avoid useless repetition, I will present here only the examination cards for women. Except where a statement to the contrary is made, it may be assumed that the questions for men are the equivalents of these, requiring only the obvious reversals of personal pronouns, substitution of "wife" for "husband," etc.

† The corresponding questions for men differed as follows: In questions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11 and 16 make the obvious substitutions of "you" for "your wife," "she" for "he," etc. Questions 8, 12, 13, 14 and 15 are identical for both sexes.

4. *Have you ever had, since marriage, any income from property or securities of your own?*
5. *Do you ever make your husband feel uncomfortable because you contribute toward the family support out of money of your own?*
6. *Does he give you a regular monthly allowance for household and your own personal expenses? If so, how much?*
7. *Do you keep within the allowance?*
8. *Do you follow a budget? If so, please state how long you have followed one, and with what success.*
9. *Do you spend more for personal and household things than he considers wise and fair?*
10. *Is he extravagant, stingy, or fair in his habits and attitudes with reference to money matters?*
11. *Does he consider you extravagant, stingy, or fair in your habits with reference to money matters?*
12. *Is there much friction between you on account of money?*
13. *Has there ever been friction between you on account of money?*
14. *If you own a home, is it paid for, or are you in debt on your home?*
15. *How much have you saved since marriage? (If this is in excess of $50,000.00, it is unnecessary to specify the amount.)*
16. *If you have not saved a reasonable amount since marriage, is it your fault, or your husband's, or nobody's fault?*

CARD 2

1. *Do you and your husband (and children, if you have any) live by yourselves, or does some member of your family or of his family live with you?*
2. *If a relative of either you or your husband lives with you, who is it, and how long has that person lived with you?*

3. *If there is a relative living with you, is his or her presence a source of irritation to either you or your husband?*
4. *Do any of your relatives cause trouble between you and your husband?*
5. *Do any of your husband's relatives cause trouble between you and your husband?*
6. *Do any of your relatives disapprove of your husband on any grounds?*
7. *Do any of your husband's relatives disapprove of you on any grounds?*
8. *If you have children, do you and your husband have serious difficulties as to their management, the cost of their clothing, amusement, etc., and their religious training?*
9. *Has your husband any friendships with women to whom you object?*
10. *Has he any friendships with men to whom you object?*
11. *Have you any friendships with women to whom he objects?*
12. *Have you any friendships with men to whom he objects?*
13. *Have you any habits to which he objects?*
14. *Has he any habits to which you object?*
15. *Are you and he socially and intellectually well mated or otherwise?*
16. *Is there any friction between you on account of religion?*

CARD 3

1. *What is the principal source of trouble between you and your husband?*
2. *How long after you were married did you begin to be seriously dissatisfied with any lack or shortcoming of his?*
3. *Do you wish to go on living with him for any of the following reasons:*
   (*a*) *Because there are children?*

(*b*) *Because he would be unhappy without you?*
(*c*) *Because separation or divorce is against your principles?*
(*d*) *Because divorce or separation would injure your business or social standing?*
(*e*) *Because you love him?*

4. *If by some miracle you could press a button and find that you had never been married to your husband, would you press that button?*
5. *Knowing what you now know, would you wish to marry if you were unmarried?*

CARD 4

1. *Have you ever been pregnant?* *
2. *What do you do to prevent pregnancy?*
3. *Do you both feel that the things that you do to prevent pregnancy are safe?*
4. *Have you always had a safe way of preventing pregnancy?*
5. *Do the measures which you take for preventing pregnancy interfere with your pleasure or your husband's?*
6. *Is there any friction between you as to what should be done about preventing pregnancy?*
7. *Do you believe that fear of pregnancy interferes with your husband's pleasure in the sex act?*
8. *Does fear of pregnancy interfere with your pleasure in the sex act?*
9. *Do you wish to have children?*
10. *Does he wish to have children?*
11. *Is there now or has there ever been any friction between you in the matter of having children?*

CARD 5 (For women only)

1. *What, if any, pelvic operations have you had performed?* (D)

* *Question 1* for men was, "Has your wife ever been pregnant?"

2. *What was done by the surgeon when he operated on you?* (D)
3. *How did any of these operations affect your sex desire?* (D)
4. *Do you menstruate regularly?*
5. *How often do you menstruate?*
6. *How many days do you menstruate?*
7. *Is your menstruation painful? If so, at what period?*
8. *Are you likely to be depressed shortly before, during, or immediately following menstruation?*
9. *Was this more or less true of you before marriage than afterward?*
10. *Do you feel more irritable than usual shortly before, during, or after menstruation?*

CARD 6 (For women only)

1. *Were you prepared by instruction for the experience of menstruation before you began to menstruate?* (D)
2. *If so, by whom?* (D)
3. *At what age did you first menstruate?* (D)
4. *What change, if any, took place in your sex feelings during the time of your first menstruation?* (D)
5. *Did you ever feel sex desire before you first menstruated?* (D)
6. *Describe as well as you can your thoughts and feelings when you first discovered that you were menstruating.* (D)
7. *Was your health better or worse just after you began to have regular menstruations?*
8. *Were your menstruations regular from the beginning?*
9. *Were they painful the first few times?*

CARD 7 (For women only)

1. *Were you prepared by instruction before marriage to expect the sex act your wedding night?* (D)
2. *If so, by whom were you instructed?* (D)

3. *Did your first sex act cause you much pain?*
4. *Did it frighten you? Disgust you? Surprise you?* (D)
5. *Did you enjoy the first sex act?*
6. *About how many times did you have the sex act before you began to have orgasms?*
7. *Was the sex act pleasant to you, distasteful, painful, or merely a matter in which you were not personally interested during the first year? During the second year? After that?* (D)
8. *If the sex act has ever been distasteful to you, why has it been so?* (D)

CARD 8 *

1. *Is sex intercourse between you and your husband always a matter of mutual desire, or do you at times merely submit to it because he desires it?* (D)
2. *Does he ever seem to desire sex intercourse with you for his own pleasure?*
3. *Do there seem to be particular periods of the month when you are more inclined to sex intercourse? If so, at what time with reference to your menstruation?* (D)

* The corresponding questions for the men on this card are as follows:

1. *Is sex intercourse between you and your wife always a matter of mutual desire, or does she at times merely submit to it because you desire it?*
2. *Does she ever seem to desire sex intercourse with you for her own pleasure?*
3. *Do there seem to be particular periods of the month when she is more inclined to sex intercourse? If so, at what time with reference to her menstruation?* (D)
4. *Is your wife willing to have sex intercourse as frequently as you wish to have it?*
5. *Is there any friction between you on that account?*
6. *Are you able to have sex intercourse with her as frequently as she desires it?*
7. *Do you have difficulty in getting an erection for intercourse with her? If so, why?*
8. *Do yau have difficulty in getting an erection for intercourse with other women?*
9. *Is your wife sexually attractive to you?*
10. *If not, when did she cease to be?*
11. *If she has ceased to be sexually attractive to you, how do you account for this fact?*

4. *Is your husband willing to have sex intercourse as frequently as you wish to have it?*
5. *Is there any friction between you on that account?*
6. *Are you able to have sex intercourse with him as frequently as he desires it?*
7. *Does he have any difficulty in getting an erection for intercourse with you? If so, why?*
8. *Do you believe that you would derive greater sexual pleasure from intercourse with any other man than your husband?*
9. *Is your husband sexually attractive to you?*
10. *If not, when did he cease to be so?*
11. *If he has ceased to be sexually attractive to you, how do you account for this fact?*

CARD 9

Information

The word "orgasm" is used to designate the spasmodic, highly pleasurable feeling with which the sex act ends for both men and women. Men often use the term "going off" to designate this part of the sex act, and with them it is accompanied by the discharge of semen. Women do not discharge semen at such a time, of course, but with that exception their orgasm or "going off" is essentially similar to that of men.

CARD 10 *

1. *Have you ever had an orgasm during the sex act with your husband?* (D)

* The equivalent questions for men are as follows:

1. *Has your wife ever had an orgasm during the sex act with you?*
2. *If so, how frequently?*
3. *What conditions seem to increase her chance of having an orgasm?*
4. *What, if anything, do you do to make it possible for your wife to have an orgasm?*
5. *What, if anything, does she do to make it possible for her to have an orgasm?*
6. *What, if anything, do you do to increase your own pleasure either before or during the sex act?*

2. *If so, how frequently?*
3. *What conditions seem to increase your chance of having an orgasm?*
4. *What, if anything, do you do to make it possible for your husband to have an orgasm?*
5. *What, if anything, does he do to make it possible for you to have an orgasm?*
6. *What, if anything, do you do to increase your own pleasure either before or during the sex act?*

CARD 11

Information

Marriage is, of course, the most intimate of all human relationships, and the most difficult to discuss in its more intimate details. It is natural for a husband and wife to conceal from the outside world the things that occur in the privacy of their bedchamber. On the other hand, the happiness and efficiency of men and women who are married are vitally dependent upon their methods of satisfying their sexual desires. Scientific medicine is slowly getting together the facts upon which to base a sound sex hygiene, and has already a good deal of value to give to persons who wish to lead healthy sex lives; but there are many gaps in our knowledge of sex, and you and I are at this moment in a position to help fill these gaps. As I have told you, I have forestalled all danger that your statements shall ever be known to any other person, and at this point I wish not only to repeat this assurance, but also to remind you that not even your husband (or wife) shall ever know, from me, what you tell me.

Husbands and wives not infrequently vary the method of performing the sex act for the sake of the added excitement and pleasure that it gives them. Such variations, which seem innocent enough in the privacy of the bedchamber,

may seem nasty or horrid when talked about. Some of these variations from the usual way of performing the sex act are regarded as injurious, either physically or mentally or both, while others are probably quite harmless or even of value. If you will answer the questions on the next card frankly, and if a thousand other persons will do likewise, an analysis of such answers will be of great value to science.

Note: The answers of any given individual will wholly disappear in statistical tables, and will be as meaningless to anybody who may be curious to know what answers a given person has made as the published results of the national election * are to any person who may be curious to know how I voted.

My experience leads me to believe that very few married couples have gone through the first year of married life without indulging in some sort of variations from the usual method of performing the sex act. You may proceed, therefore, to answer the questions on the next card without feeling that your experience is exceptional.

CARD 12

1. *What, if anything, does your husband do, either before or during the sex act, to increase your pleasure?*
2. *Does your husband ever vary his method of performing the sex act with you?*
3. *How do you feel about any variations of the sex act from the usual way? Does it disgust you?*
4. *How does your husband feel about it? Does it disgust him?*
5. *If you do not understand these questions, please ask for further explanations.*

* These studies were begun late in 1924.

CARD 13 *

Note: In the questions that follow, the term "sex intercourse from the rear" refers to the act of entering the woman's vagina (which is the normal orifice of the woman's body for sex intercourse) from the rear, and not the act of entering her rectum, which is the lower part of her bowel.

1. *If your husband has ever had sex intercourse with you from the rear, please state when and under what conditions?*
2. *Was it done the first time at his suggestion or yours?*
3. *If it was done at your suggestion, was it because you had heard about this variation, or did the impulse to have it done that way simply come to you of its own accord?*
4. *Did this way of performing the sex act seem to you to be a natural or an unnatural way?*
5. *Did you find it pleasurable merely because it was a change of method, or because it seemed to satisfy a natural impulse to have your husband enter you from the rear?*
6. *If you have continued the practise, please state why.*
7. *If you have discontinued the practise, was it for any of the following reasons:*
   - (a) *Because you liked the usual way better?*
   - (b) *Because your husband liked the usual way better?*
   - (c) *Because it seemed to you to be unnatural and wrong?*
   - (d) *Because it seemed to your husband to be unnatural and wrong?*

* The first 8 questions of the corresponding card for men are the same as the above, with the necessary transpositions of pronouns, etc. Questions 9 to 14 for men are given below:

9. *Have you ever been able to complete the act from the rear?*
10. *Has your wife ever been able to have an orgasm by this method?*
11. *Have you ever had sex intercourse with your wife by entering her rectum?*
12. *If so, did she find it agreeable or disagreeable?*
13. *Did you find it agreeable or disagreeable?*
14. *What previous experience led you to desire intercourse with her per rectum?*

8. *Do you and your husband now use this method (from the rear), or have you ever used it?*
9. *Has either of you been able to have an orgasm by this method?*
10. *Has your husband ever had intercourse with you by entering your rectum?*

CARD 14 *

Give a list of all the boys with whom you have been in love, either before or after your marriage, and give the following information about each of them:

1. *How old were you at the beginning of your love affair with the boy or the man?*
2. *Was he older or younger than you?*
3. *What was the color of his eyes and hair? Dark or fair skin?*
4. *Was he short, tall, or medium in height?*
5. *Was he thin, plump, fat, or of average build?*
6. *Did he resemble your father or any of your brothers in disposition?*
7. *Did he resemble your father or any of your brothers in physical appearance?*
8. *To what extent were there demonstrations of affection between you?* (D)
9. *Was your affection for him of a kind to make it uncomfortable for you to permit him to make demonstrations of affection for you?*
10. *Did any other feeling interfere with your ability to let him kiss you or do other kinds of "spooning" with you freely and easily?*
11. *What terminated your affair with him?*

* The corresponding card for men is exactly equivalent to the one for women excepting that *Question 9* for men is as follows: "Did any feelings of reverence for her prevent you from taking liberties with her?"

CARD 15 *

1. *Were you and your mother always on friendly terms while you lived at home? Are you still on such terms?*
2. *Have you been subject, at times, to sudden feelings of irritability toward your mother?*
3. *After irritable or angry outbursts toward your mother were you likely to have sudden revulsions of feeling and feel more friendly toward her than ever?*
4. *How demonstrative have you and your mother ever been in showing your affection for each other?*
5. *During your life with your parents were you fonder of one parent than of the other?*
6. *If so, why?*
7. *Did your parents get along well together?*
8. *If not, what was the chief source of friction between them?*
9. *Were your parents divorced or separated?*
10. *If so, how did you feel about it as a child?*

CARD 16 *

1. *Were you and your father always on affectionate terms, and are you still on such terms?*
2. *Have you been subject, at any time in your life, to sudden feelings of irritability toward your father?*

* Corresponding questions for men:

1. *Were you and your father always on friendly terms while you lived at home? Are you still on such terms?*
2. *Have you been subject, at times, to sudden feelings of irritability toward your father?*
3. *After irritable or angry outbursts toward your father were you likely to have sudden revulsions of feeling and feel more kindly toward him than ever?*
4. *How demonstrative have you and your father ever been in showing your affection for each other?*

(Questions 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 are identical with those for women.)

* Equivalent questions for men are obtained by substituting "mother," "sister," or "wife" for "father," "brother," or "husband" respectively wherever these words occur, and making the necessary transpositions of pronouns.

3. *After irritable or angry outbursts toward your father were you likely to have sudden revulsions of feeling and feel more affectionate toward him than ever?*
4. *If you were single and not in love with any particular man, would you be likely to prefer a man of your father's general physical appearance, or do you naturally incline toward men who are physically opposite to your father?*
5. *If you were single and not in love with any particular man, would you be likely to prefer a man of your father's general type of disposition, or do you naturally incline toward men who are unlike him in disposition?*
6. *Describe, as accurately as you can, your father's physical appearance. Give the color of his eyes and hair, his stature, complexion and any other outstanding physical traits which he has.*
7. *Describe your father's disposition as well as you can.*
8. *Give a description of the physical traits and disposition of each of your brothers.*
9. *Describe, as accurately as you can, your husband's physical appearance. Give the color of his eyes and hair, his stature, complexion and any other outstanding physical traits which he has.*
10. *Describe your husband's disposition as well as you can.*
11. *Is your husband like or unlike your father in physical appearance—not as your father is now, but as he was when you were a child?*
12. *Is your husband like or unlike your father in disposition?*
13. *Is your husband like any of your brothers in appearance or disposition?*
14. *If you have had previous marriages, give a description of the appearance and disposition of each of your previous husbands.*

CARD 17

1. *Can you recall when you first became curious about sex matters?* (D)
2. *How old were you?* (D)
3. *What aroused your curiosity?* (D)
4. *What were you curious about?* (D)
5. *How or from whom did you receive the earliest information about sex matters which you can recall?* (D)
6. *What was the nature of this information?* (D)
7. *How old were you?* (D)
8. *What can you recall as to the effects of this information upon you?* (D)
9. *Did your parents ever give you any information about sex matters?* (D)
10. *Your father? Your mother? Both?* (D)
11. *What was the nature of this information?* (D)
12. *Was it given voluntarily or as a result of questions from you?* (D)
13. *If you went to your father or mother with these matters, did you meet with encouragement? Rebuff?* (D)
14. *Did he or she answer your questions truthfully? Evasively?* (D)
15. *Did he or she put you off with stork or other stories?* (D)
16. *Did your parents speak to you on these matters more than once? If so, how frequently? Until you were how old?* (D)
17. *Was the information received from your parents helpful? Harmful? Neither?* (D)
18. *Did it satisfy your curiosity at the time?* (D)
19. *Did it stimulate your curiosity and cause you to seek information elsewhere?* (D)

CARD 18

1. *At what age did you first learn that children are born of their mothers' bodies?*
2. *Who told you?*
3. *How did this information affect you?*
4. *Did you have any suspicions or impressions that fathers have anything to do with the appearance of babies in the family?*
5. *If so, what were your suspicions or impressions as to the father's part in bringing babies into the world?*
6. *Please give an account of any curiosity that you may have had about the birth of babies, the sexual parts of boys and girls, or the sexual behavior of human beings before you were ten years of age.*
7. *Did this curiosity continue until you reached puberty, or did it die out for a few years before you reached puberty?*
8. *In searching your memory for thoughts about sex matters which you may have had from very early childhood to puberty is there any long period during which no such thoughts seem to have entered your mind? In other words, do you believe that you passed through a period of several years during your childhood but before puberty when neither curiosity nor any kind of interest in sex matters played a part in your life?*

CARD 19

1. *What do you know about venereal diseases?* (D)
2. *When and from what source did you obtain this information?* (D)
3. *Have you ever had a venereal disease? If so, when did you have it?*
4. *Have you any reason to suspect that your husband (or wife) has now or ever has had a venereal disease?*
5. *If so, please give details.*

CARD 20

Information

The imagination is a kind of mental laboratory in which one experiments, in fancy, with all sorts of possibilities. One imagines herself doing things and having experiences which might or might not be right or possible in real life. She is like a shopper who looks at all sorts of things before buying. The shopper will find pleasure in looking at things which would be too expensive, or unsuited to her, or not really worth spending money for. So is it with a woman when she is imagining herself in now this, now that situation. Some of the things which she likes to imagine herself doing would be simply foolish, some of them would be shameful, some unsuited to her age and circumstances, some not really worth doing in real life, etc.

Even the least secretive persons keep most of their imaginations or daydreams to themselves. It would be easier for even a very modest woman to stand wholly naked before a physician than it would be for any man or woman to tell what goes on in the secret recesses of his or her mind during certain phases of imaginative daydreaming. And yet just such self-exposure is necessary if you are to arrive at an effective self-understanding through the help of a medical psychologist. You may not wish to answer all the questions on the following card in spite of this consideration. In that event, simply omit answers. Failure to answer is not misleading, but an untruthful answer is.

CARD 21

1. *Before you knew anything about sex matters did you indulge in daydreams which gave you sensations and feelings which you now recognize as having a sexual quality?*
2. *If so, tell me as much about it as you can.*

3. *Did you have any kind of sex daydreams before puberty?*
4. *If so, describe them as fully as you can.*
5. *Did your sex daydreams begin only after you reached puberty?*
6. *If not, were your after-puberty sex daydreams unlike your before-puberty daydreams?*
7. *Describe this difference.*
8. *Did you pass through a period in your 'teens during which your sex daydreams included fantasies of yourself having sexually satisfying plays with boys and men? If so, tell as much about this as you can.*
9. *Did you pass through a period in your 'teens during which you had sex daydreams of a kind which you would now regard as nasty, horrid, and altogether contrary to your grown-up standards of sex-morality? If so, please tell as much about this as you can.*
10. *Did your sex daydreaming end with marriage?*
11. *Before marriage, but after you reached eighteen, did sex daydreams and sex thoughts occupy your mind a good deal?*
12. *Did they interfere with your work? Make you fond of getting off by yourself for the sake of being alone with your imagination? Make you ashamed of facing your family after you had been indulging in such daydreams?*
13. *Do sex daydreams enter into your imagination now? If so, to what extent?*
14. *In general, when you have sex daydreams, do you prefer to think of yourself as the only female in the situation, or do you like to weave daydreams of yourself successfully competing with other females for the sexual favors of the men in your daydreams?*
15. *Do you believe that a married woman whose husband is satisfactory to her in a sexual way is likely to indulge in sex daydreams?*

CARD 22 (For women) *

Information

In all questions in which the term "before puberty" is used this will refer to all that period of your life which preceded your first menstruation. By the term "after puberty" will be meant all that period of your life which has followed your first menstruation.

(For men)

In all questions in which the term " before puberty" is used this term will refer to that period of your life during which you were too young to discharge semen while masturbating or performing the sex act. By the term "after puberty" will be meant all that period of your life which began with and followed your first emission of semen, either in a dream, or while masturbating, or having sex intercourse with a girl.

CARD 23

1. *At what age did you first have a sleeping dream in which you had an orgasm?* (D)
2. *Had you been told that you might have such dreams?*
3. *Do you recall what you thought and felt about your first dream orgasm?*
4. *Do you recall what the first dream was: whether you dreamed that you were having sex intercourse with a particular person, or merely had the sensations of the orgasm ("going off") without an attending dream?*
5. *How frequently did you have dream orgasms from the*

* *Card 22* is the only one which was presented out of the order suggested by their serial number. It was originally an error in typing, but this error had to be continued to the end of the research as a whole in order to avoid lack of uniformity. In the examinations it was presented to the subject directly before he was given Card 18.

Of course it does not contain a scientifically acceptable definition of puberty, and the subjects seemed, without exception, to understand that I was merely seeking to establish a definite dating point in their sex lives.

time they began until marriage?

6. *Did they seem to affect you in any way, either mentally or physically?*
7. *Did they worry you?*
8. *Did you ever dream that you were having sex intercourse in an unusual way, as, for example, with an inanimate object, an animal, a girl, a woman, a child, or a boy or man of your own family? Nearly everybody has had sex sleeping dreams of a revolting nature, so please do not hesitate, from shame, to be frank about your own experience.*
9. *Did the tendency to have dream orgasms continue after marriage?*
10. *If you have dream orgasms now, are they usually attended by dreams of sex intercourse with particular persons or with persons of a particular type? If so, please describe such persons or types.*
11. *Do you ever have the following experience: you have had sex intercourse with your husband on going to bed or shortly afterward, have fallen asleep, and at some time during the night have had an orgasm?*
12. *Does your husband's absence increase your tendency to have dream orgasms?* (D)
13. *Do you have them more or less often now than you did during the first year of your marriage?*

CARD 24

1. *Did you ever have sex intercourse with a boy or man before you reached puberty?*
2. *If so, at what age did you have such intercourse?*
3. *Did you take the initiative the first time or did the boy lead you into it?*
4. *Describe, as nearly as you can, each boy or man with whom you had sex intercourse before puberty.*
5. *Were any of these boys or men related to you? If so, what was the relationship?*

6. *Before you reached puberty did you have opportunities for sex intercourse with a boy or man which you refused?*
7. *If so, why did you refuse? From fear? Lack of desire? Disgust? Moral scruples?*
8. *Before puberty were you more or less likely to desire sex intercourse with a particular boy because you were fond of him?*
9. *Did the thought of having sex intercourse with boys enter your mind at all?* (D)
10. *Before puberty were you ever frightened or disgusted by the sexual aggressions of a boy or a man?*
11. *If so, describe the boy or man.*

CARD 25

Note: All questions on this card refer to your sex life *after puberty.*

1. *At what age did you first have the sex act with a boy or man?*
2. *Describe the first male with whom you had the sex act, giving his age, physical appearance and disposition.*
3. *Did he lead you into it or did you lead him into it?*
4. *Did you find much pleasure in the first act, or was it disappointing?*
5. *Describe the mental and physical characteristics of each boy or man, other than your husband, with whom you have had sex intercourse. As nearly as possible, give dates and ages.*
6. *Is there a particular type of man who appeals to you in a sexual way? If so, describe the type.*
7. *Is there a particular type of man with whom, for any reason, you would shrink from having sex intercourse? If so, describe the type.*
8. *When you first fell in love with the first man whom you loved after puberty, and before you had begun to*

"spoon" with him, did you have sex feelings toward him, or was your love "pure" in the sense of being free from any conscious sex desire?

9. *Did "spooning" with him excite your sex desire? If so, did such desire toward him make you feel ashamed or queer?*
10. *Have you found that sex intercourse with a boy or man whom you do not love is physically satisfactory? Can you "let yourself go" sexually more easily with a man whom you love or with one whom you do not love?*

CARD 26

1. *If you have had sex intercourse with any boy or man, other than your husband, during your married life, how have you justified it in your own mind?*
2. *What, if any, circumstances, in your opinion, justify a married woman in having sex intercourse with a man other than her husband?* (D)
3. *There are people who believe that even happily married people crave variety of sex experience. Do you believe that even a happily married woman comes in time to find her husband so much less interesting sexually that she would normally crave sex experience with a less familiar man if her conscience and her prudence would permit? What has been your own experience in this matter?*
4. *If your husband has any mental or physical traits which render him less attractive to you sexually than you would like, please describe them.*
5. *Do you like to imagine while you are having the sex act with your husband that it is some other man with whom you are having the sex act?*
6. *Are you in love with some other man than your husband?*
7. *If so, please describe him, giving age, color of hair and eyes, complexion, figure, height, and disposition.*

CARD 27

1. *Did you have sex intercourse with your husband the first night of your marriage? If not, why not?*
2. *Did you feel any reluctance or aversion to the act the first time you had sex intercourse with him?*
3. *Did he have difficulty in getting and keeping an erection for the first act with you?*
4. *Did he show aversion to the act the first time?*
5. *Did you indulge in the sex act with him before marriage?*
6. *How frequently do you now indulge in the sex act with him?* (D)
7. *How frequently the first year?* (D)
8. *Has he ever suspected you of having the sex act with other men? Is there any ground for his suspicion?*
9. *Have you ever suspected him of having sex intercourse with other women, either before or after marriage? What are the grounds for your suspicion?*

CARD 28

1. *Does your husband have difficulty in entering you because you are too small at the entrance to your sexual part?*
2. *Do you have a spasm there which makes it difficult for him to enter you?*
3. *If so, was this always so, or did it begin after you had been married some time?*
4. *Does the sex act cause you pain?*
5. *Have you had any kind of so-called "female disease" which makes the sex act painful to you?*
6. *If so, how does this affect your satisfaction with him as a sex object?*
7. *Does he practise withdrawal?*
8. *If so, what does he do to complete his pleasure after withdrawing?*

9. *If he practises withdrawal, have you noticed any ill effects to either of you which seem to be due to this habit? If so, what ill effects?*
10. *Are you and your husband more or less friendly and affectionate during the first twenty-four hours after the sex act?*
11. *Do you believe that it is right to have the sex act for any other purpose than to bring children into the world?* (D)
12. *What is your husband's belief in this matter?*

CARD 29

1. *Do you fear, or have you ever feared, that the sex part of you might be unlike that of other women?* *
2. *If so, has this ever been a source of humiliation to you?*
3. *Do you fear, or have you ever feared, that you might seem unattractive or defective in the eyes of men in any of the following ways:*
   - (*a*) *Masculine?*
   - (*b*) *Too big?*
   - (*c*) *Too little?*
   - (*d*) *Lacking in social grace?*
   - (*e*) *Lacking in forcefulness?*
   - (*f*) *Lacking in charm?*
   - (*g*) *Physically unattractive?*
   - (*h*) *Stupid?*
   - (*i*) *Tiresome?*
4. *Please answer this question with reference to any fears that you may have or have had that women might find such defects in you.*
5. *If you lack self-confidence to a serious degree in any direction, please give details.*
6. *Do you believe that you are more or less potent sexually than most women of your age?*

* *Question 1* for men is, "Do you fear, or have you ever feared, that your sex organ might be considered smaller than that of the average man if it were exposed to persons who might take notice of such things?"

7. *Do you believe that your natural sex desire is above, below, or about equal to that of the average woman?*
8. *Do you believe that your husband is over-sexed, under-sexed, or about normal as to sex desire and capacity?*
9. *Have you ever feared, or do you now fear, that persons who observe you closely might suspect that you masturbate, or that in the past you may have indulged in this habit?*
10. *Would you like to be free from all sex desire?*
11. *If so, why?*
12. *Do you believe that a woman's general strength and capacity for work are greater when she is having sex intercourse regularly and temperately, or when she is not indulging her sex desire at all?* (D)

CARD 30

Information

It is practically certain that most people of both sexes indulge, or have indulged, in some form of self-abuse (masturbation). For example, Dr. Katharine B. Davis,* General Secretary of The Bureau of Social Hygiene, found that more than 60 percent of 1,000 college women whose ages ranged from 22 to 69 years gave a history of self-abuse. Similar investigations of those who have studied the sex lives of men support the view that this habit is at least as frequent among men as it is among women. Many persons are willing to admit masturbation as a past habit, but are reluctant to admit it as a present habit. Nevertheless, careful studies lead us to believe that it is very common among married men and women.

There are persons who regard temperate masturbation as harmless and, in some cases, even beneficial, while other persons regard it as always a harmful practise. If we are

* A Study of Certain Auto-Erotic Practices. Mental Hygiene, Vol. VIII, July, 1924, pp. 668–723, and Vol. IX, January, 1925, pp. 28–59.

ever to have scientific knowledge of the matter instead of mere guesses, we must obtain just such information as you can give in answering the next card. Please be frank about your present habits as to masturbation, and do not feel ashamed to admit what is in the lives of a vast number of intelligent, dignified, self-respecting persons. After we have gone all through the question cards, we can discuss masturbation, and at least increase your understanding of it in terms of your own welfare.

CARD 31

1. *How old were you when you first found pleasure in handling your sex organs or in causing them to be rubbed or pressed by other means than using your hands on them?* (D)
2. *How did you find out that pleasure could be had by causing your sex organs to be rubbed, or pressed, or handled?* (D)
   (*a*) *Were you told about it by another person (if so, by whom)?* (D)
   (*b*) *Did you imitate some other person whom you saw doing that sort of thing?* (D)
   (*c*) *Did some other person suggest that you do it?* (D)
   (*d*) *Did some other person handle your sex organ, and thus show you how to give yourself the pleasure?* (D)
   (*e*) *Did you make the discovery of this kind of pleasure accidentally, when nobody was near? If so, how?* (D)
3. *How old were you when you first brought about an orgasm ("go off") by handling or otherwise pressing or rubbing your sex organ?* (D)
4. *How frequently did you masturbate from the time you began it until you first had an orgasm?* (D)

5. *How frequently did you produce orgasms by masturbation after you began to have orgasms?* (D)
6. *When, if ever, did you begin to indulge in daydreams as a part of the pleasure in masturbation?*
7. *Were daydreams of yourself in a sexual situation with another person always an essential part of your pleasure in masturbation?*
8. *When you had sexual daydreams (imagining yourself having some sort of sex pleasure with another person), did you, in the beginning, prefer to imagine that the other person was a boy, a girl, a man, or a woman?*
9. *Did you masturbate in company with other girls who were masturbating at the same time?*
10. *If at any time in your life any person has ever masturbated you, please give dates, circumstances, and descriptions of such persons.* (D)
11. *Were you likely to masturbate more or less frequently while in love with a boy with whom you did no spooning?* (D)
12. *Were you likely to masturbate more or less frequently while in love with a boy with whom you did spooning?* (D)

CARD 32

1. *During the engagement that led to your marriage (the first one, if you have been married twice) did you increase, decrease, or stop masturbation?*
2. *Please answer this question with reference to your second marriage also, if married twice.*
3. *During the first year of your marriage did you masturbate at all?*
4. *After marriage did you fall back upon this kind of sex satisfaction for any of the following reasons:*
   Absence of your husband?
   His illness?
   His unwillingness to have sex intercourse with you?

A feeling of aversion on your part to have sex intercourse with him?
Longing for another man whom you preferred to your husband?
Because you did not sleep in the same bed with your husband?
Because you occupied separate rooms?
For any other reason?

5. *How frequently, if at all, have you masturbated since the first year of your marriage?*
6. *When did you last masturbate?*
7. *Do you believe that masturbation has ever injured you, either mentally or physically? Please give whatever opinions you may have on this subject.* (D)
8. *Have you reason to believe that your husband has ever masturbated? If so, at what period of his life?*

CARD 33

1. *It is probable that children pass through a period during which they find a sensual delight in various kinds of nasty thoughts, words, and acts. Give an account of any of your nastinesses of childhood.*
2. *Do you recall whether or not, as a child, you were fond of prolonging the act of moving your bowels for the sake of pleasant thrills which this gave you?*
3. *Did voiding urine give you the same kind of pleasure?*
4. *Do you remember whether or not, during childhood, you were secretly thrilled by obscene words or phrases which you heard, saw written, or uttered yourself?*

CARD 34

1. *We have reason to believe that all children normally pass through a period during which they take pleasure in the thought or act of exposing their bodies (particularly their sex organs) to persons of the opposite sex. Do you recall any childish experiences of that kind?*

2. *Do you recall ever having a party with a little boy, during which you and he exposed your sex organs to each other?*
3. *When, if ever, during puberty or after it, did you find pleasure in the thought of exposing your sex organs to boys or men?*
4. *Do such thoughts still come to your mind?*
5. *If so, do they distress you?*
6. *When, if ever, during puberty or after it, did you actually expose your sex organs to a person or persons of the opposite sex for the sake of sex pleasure which it brought you?*
7. *Is there still a temptation to do this?*
8. *If so, what do you do about it?*
9. *Does it cause you pleasure, distress you, or both thrill and distress you, to have your husband see your exposed sex organ?*
10. *Do you believe that you are more or less modest than the average woman in the matter of exposing yourself to men other than your husband?*
11. *Do you believe that it is natural for a woman to take a certain pleasure in exposing her naked body to her husband if he is sexually attractive to her?*

CARD 35

1. *Do you remember passing through a period, at any time from childhood to the present time, during which you were very curious to see the sex parts of other persons?*
2. *If so, at what age did such curiosity first manifest itself?*
3. *Were you more curious to see the sex parts of men and boys or those of women and girls?*
4. *Do you remember experiencing thrilling pleasure from stealing peeps of the sex organs of boys? Of men? Of girls? Of women?*

5. *To what extent has an earlier tendency to take delight in stealing glimpses of the naked body of a boy or man remained with you?*
6. *To what extent, if any, have you indulged a desire to steal glimpses of the nakedness of boys or men since you have grown up? Please be explicit as to dates.*
7. *Did you pass through a period, as a child, during which you took pleasure in trying to steal glimpses of your parents or of other grown persons while they were indulging in the sex act?*
8. *Give an account of any experience that you may have had in sexual peeping.*

CARD 36

1. *Do you remember passing through a period, at any time from early childhood to the present time, when you derived pleasant thrills from inflicting pain upon either animals or human beings?*
2. *If so, please give dates, the kinds of living things which you preferred to use for this purpose, and an account of what you did.*
3. *Does there remain behind any trace of an earlier tendency to inflict pain upon animals or other persons for the pleasure that it may bring you?*
4. *Do you remember passing through a period, at any time from early childhood to the present time, when you derived pleasant thrills from pain inflicted upon you by other persons?*
5. *If so, please give dates, the kinds of persons whom you preferred to have cause you pain, and an account of actual experiences of this kind.*
6. *Does there remain any trace of an earlier tendency to wish that a person who appeals to you sexually would make you feel pain?*

CARD 37

1. *To what extent, if any, have you a tendency to treasure objects (a lock of hair, a handkerchief, a bit of underwear, etc.) which remind you of a sexually attractive person?*
2. *Have you ever found that the sight of such objects would give you pleasant sex feelings?*
3. *Would you find it at all thrilling to possess a garter, a stocking, or an undergarment of any person whatsoever?*

CARD 38

1. *If you were grading yourself as to the degree of your concern for your personal appearance, would you say that you are slovenly, careless, indifferent, careful, neat, more concerned about your personal appearance than most women, or just about the average woman in this respect?*
2. *When you are in the country, as in a camp or on a boat, under conditions where personal appearance is of no great practical importance, do you mind going about without doing your hair and in slovenly clothes, or do you try to look neat and clean for your own eyes?*
3. *Do you believe that at any time, from childhood to the present time, you passed through a period during which you derived a definite thrill of pleasure from looking at your naked body in the mirror, inspecting your naked body as you were bathing, dressing or undressing, or stroking your body as one might stroke a beautiful animal?*
4. *If you ever passed through such a period, what traces of this tendency are still detectable in your disposition?*
5. *During your single days, did the sight of your own young body give you a longing for a mate who might take pleasure in your body and its femininity?*

CARD 39

Information

The growing girl is slowly prepared by Nature to take her place in the world of grown-up people and to discharge all the useful functions of womanhood. She responds in play, make-believe and daydream to Nature's invitation that she prepare herself for competition with other women for all the honors, possessions, and satisfactions that women crave. These would include attracting a mate, conceiving, and bearing children. For example, in her plays as a child she will now and then respond to her brothers and sisters as to imaginary enemies against whom she must protect her children or herself by flight or cunning. She may respond to a piece of furniture or to a family pet as to a bear or a lion which requires her to summon a brave, strong man for her protection. A doll is to her a baby to be cared for. Various playthings invite her to pretend that she is keeping house, cooking, and engaging in various other domestic activities. In other words, the little girl prepares herself by all sorts of imaginations of herself as a grown-up person. These plays and fantasies of little girls tell us a great deal about woman nature, and a study of them in a given case is always of value.

Now it is a fact of prime importance that the girl not only responds to the imaginary enemies, wild animals, babies to love and protect, and houses to be kept, but that as a future wife and mother she also tends to respond at times in a vague way, in queer, uncomfortable flashes, to the maleness of her father or, in some cases, to the maleness of her brother. Nature means that the girl shall gradually develop complete responsiveness to the maleness, as such, of some man; and so this pleasant, vague sort of emotional practise can be safely had with the father or the brother as the object. You must understand, of course, that Nature endows a girl's father and brother, as well as herself, with

instincts which prevent them from really desiring to transgress against one another sexually. The girl's uncomfortable flashes of queer feeling toward her father or her brother are not easily recalled after she grows up, because they are kept very securely locked in a special compartment of the storehouse of her memory. She is afraid of even the memories of such flashes, and her fear of them (because she cannot even recall them) sometimes plays queer tricks on her nerves. It is exceedingly important, for this and other reasons which will be given later, that such locked-up memories be unlocked, so that no fear of any such childish bogey shall cripple the personality. If you will put aside your natural prejudices in the matter, relax and answer the questions on the next card as freely as answers may come to your mind, you will greatly facilitate my ability to help you to a better self-understanding.*

CARD 40

1. *At what age did you first learn that human beings, like animals, breed for the sake of the pleasure derived from the act of breeding, and that children are born of their mothers as a consequence of breeding?* (D)
2. *How did you learn this fact?* (D)
3. *Were you shocked? Fascinated? Uninterested? Did it kindle in you a desire to breed with a male?*
4. *Did the discovery of the fact of breeding kindle in you a desire to breed with a particular male?*
5. *Was it clear to your mind just what the act of breeding is?*

* I now regret that in my zeal to facilitate recall of incestuous experiences I made such statements as these. A beneficently teleological "Nature," endowing us with mystical "instincts," and an attitude of scientific realism do not make good bed-fellows. The phenomena to which allusion is made in *Card 39* may prove in the end to be adequately accounted for in terms of post-natal conditionings, and thus require no such mystical postulates. It has long been my belief that if Watson were to undertake a behavioristic paraphrase of Freud's insights and explanatory formulations he would not only find the task an easy one, but would thereby greatly improve the morale of all of us who are engaged in psychiatric research.

6. *Did it distress you when the thought came to you that your own parents probably indulged in such behavior?*
7. *Were you afraid that you might think of a male of your own family as a person with whom you, as a female, might breed?*
8. *Were you tortured, as, perhaps, the majority of children are at some time or other, by thoughts or imaginations about your family males as persons with sex organs and, perhaps, desires and instincts similar to your own?*
9. *The ordinary, playful contacts and expressions of affection between a girl and her father or between her and her brother are liable to produce very unpleasant flashes of sex feeling in the girl. She may feel, for a moment, as she would feel if she were having similar contacts with an attractive boy. Do you recall your own flashes of sex feeling toward your father or a brother (or other closely related family male)? If so, discuss this as freely as you can.*
10. *Studies of normal little girls (anywhere between the ages of two and eight) show that they pass through a stage of jealousy of the father, with consequent dislike of the mother as a rival for the father's affections. After a while, they grow ashamed of their jealous, hostile feelings toward the mother, and hide such feelings from their own minds. Relax, and let come into your mind any memories that you may have of childish jealousy of your father and of hostility toward your mother-rival. Tell me whatever may come into your mind in this connection.*
11. *Do you recall any experiences of childhood or of later years connected with your detection of your parents in the act of breeding? If so, tell me how such experiences affected you.*

CARD 41

Information

It would be physically harmful for an immature girl to breed, and even after she is physically old enough to conceive and bear children it is desirable that she should not breed until she reaches the age at which she has enough physical strength and enough judgment to mate and to take care of any children which might be born. Extensive studies of girlhood justify the belief that many girls normally pass through a period during which they are blindly impelled to play at mating with other girls. This period has a definite value, in that it gives them a certain practise in focussing their emotions upon one dearly beloved person—that is, upon a girl friend, with whom breeding is impossible—without any risk of breeding. These play-matings of girl with girl are often confined to the familiar "crushes" of young girlhood, with effusive demonstrations of affection. Such affairs between two girls who have a crush on each other are as decent and as innocent as a little girl's play with dolls. We must not forget that the little girl who plays with her doll is getting a kind of training for motherhood. Now it is a perhaps universal experience with girls that their affectionate contacts with their girl chums occasionally kindle flashes of feeling and of sensation which have a quality suggestive of sex feeling and sensation. In many cases the girl who has these flashes of sex-like pleasure while showing her affection for another girl is entirely innocent of their meaning. On the other hand, many wholesome and quite fine girls have had such experiences as this: while sleeping with another girl, the contact of the two bodies has kindled sex feelings, and they have played at breeding with each other with a more or less definite consciousness that such behavior is a kind of imitation of what a man and wife do together when they excite each other's passion. Such episodes are of common occurrence, and

they probably do no harm at all unless one of two things happens:

1. A girl who has had such experiences with her girl chum learns that there are perverted girls and women who make a regular practise of using girls or women as sex objects, and whose sex feelings are exclusively aroused and satisfied by persons of their own sex. The girl who finds this out may then be much terrified lest she be regarded as sexually unnatural in this respect.

2. Or a girl, having found this out by "fooling" in one way or another with a girl or a woman, grows into womanhood with a strong tendency to love girls and women in a sexual way, and to have sex feelings for them rather than for men. Such a girl may carefully conceal her desires and preferences in the matter, or she may form a kind of sexual alliance with another person of her own sex. Cases of this kind are comparatively rare, but cases of girls and women who are really quite normal, but who have a morbid fear lest they feel sexually toward a person of the same sex, are quite common.*

Perhaps no woman reaches maturity without having experienced more or less discomfort from the thought that she may have a "hold-over" from her girlhood in the form of an inclination toward girls or women as sex objects. Groundless fear of this aspect of human sex life probably does serious damage to a thousand personalities for every one personality with the actual development of the much-feared tendency.* It is therefore quite important that you have this part of your mental anatomy examined.

CARD 42

1. At what age did you cease to be fully satisfied with friendships with girls and begin to long for friendships with boys with whom you could go about and do the things that boys and girls do together?

* Our findings suggest that this statement holds good for men but not for women.

* A gross over-statement.

2. *At what age did you begin to long for a love affair with a boy?*
3. *At what age did you first begin to long for an opportunity to have the sex act with a boy?*
4. *Tell me about your different girl chums—especially about any girl with whom you may have had an exclusive kind of friendship.*
5. *Did there ever come a time when you felt ashamed to show your fondness for a particular girl friend, or for any girl whatever, lest people might suspect you of having unnatural (sex) feeling for her, or of engaging in unnatural sex practises with her?*
6. *Do you remember passing through a period during which you enjoyed rubbing your sex organs against another girl's leg, or engaging in some other play with a girl which had for its object the production of sex sensation?*
7. *If so, did you like to pretend in your imagination that it was a boy with whom you were thus fooling, or was your pleasure due in part to the fact that you liked the girl, and enjoyed such intimacies with her?*
8. *Have you ever been tormented by a tendency to construct imaginations of yourself in bed or in some other intimate situation with a girl or woman with whom (in your imagination) you were doing things to produce sex satisfaction?*
9. *Do such imaginations still come to you?*
10. *Does it make you uncomfortable to have a girl or woman put her arm about you or make other physical demonstrations of friendliness?*
11. *To what extent, if any, is any girl or woman attractive to you in a sexual way?*
12. *If you have engaged in any kind of sexual episodes with girls and women since your 18th year, please give dates and circumstances.*

13. *To what extent, if any, does your fear of appearing perverted prevent you from having the normal, wholesome friendships with women and the friendly regard for girls of which the average woman is capable?*
14. *If you could throw aside all considerations of conscience, decency, fear of public opinion, and an underlying desire to be normal, do you believe that any girl or woman would appeal to you sexually?*
15. *If so, to what extent?*

CARD 43

1. *What things in your married life annoy and dissatisfy you the most?*
2. *If your marriage is an unsuccessful one, what do you believe to be the chief cause of its failure?*
3. *If you could make your husband over, what changes would you make in any of the following physical qualities: Height? Weight? Figure? Complexion? Quality of skin? Color of hair? Color of eyes? Size of his sex organ?*
4. *What changes would you make in the following mental qualities of your husband: Temper? Talkativeness? Thriftiness? Carefulness of dress? Selfishness? Tendency to scold? Intelligence? Social standing? Religious life? Truthfulness? Tendency to flirt? Capacity for showing affection? Strength of sex desire? Vanity? Serious-mindedness?*
5. *Are there any other changes that you would make in his body or mind if you could?*

CARD 44

1. *You have now answered a great many questions about yourself and quite a few about your husband. Perhaps these questions have started you thinking about things more clearly than is your usual habit. In view of this*

possibility, do you wish to go over any of the questions again and change or add to your first answers to them?

CARD 45 *

1. *Do you believe that your husband's orgasms occur too quickly for your own pleasure?*
2. *Do you believe that if your husband were slower in coming to his orgasm you would have orgasms more frequently?*
3. *Are there times when you feel unsatisfied after your husband has had his orgasm?*
4. *Does your husband ever hold back his orgasm so that you may have an orgasm at the same time that he has his?*
5. *Is your husband generally quicker or slower than you in coming to an orgasm?*

SPECIAL CARD NUMBER 1

For women who have been pregnant

1. *Did pregnancy bring about any change in your feeling toward your husband? If so, what change?*
2. *Did any change which occurred in your feeling toward him during pregnancy continue after pregnancy was over? If so, how long did this change of feeling last?*
3. *Did you feel cross toward your husband because he caused you to be pregnant? Do you still resent the fact that he made you pregnant?*
4. *Did you and your husband indulge in sex intercourse during pregnancy?* (D)
5. *If so, during what period? How frequently? As fre-*

* Five women and 4 men had been examined when it became apparent that the questions in *Card 45* ought to be asked separately; hence its introduction out of order. The 9 subjects who had not been asked these questions answered them later; hence there enters here a variation of method for these cases.

quently as during the time when you were not pregnant? (D)

6. *What effect, if any, did pregnancy have on your sex desire? Did it increase it or decrease it?* (D)
7. *Was this true of the whole period? If not, during what period of pregnancy was your sex desire more or less?* (D)
8. *Was sex intercourse during pregnancy agreeable or repulsive to you?* (D)
9. *Was this true of the whole period or of only part of it?* (D)
10. *Did sex intercourse during pregnancy seem to be harmful or disagreeable to you in any way? If so, how?* (D)
11. *If you ceased having sex intercourse during pregnancy for any reason, did you miss it and feel a desire to have such intercourse?* (D)
12. *Did you and your husband adopt some substitute for sex intercourse during your pregnancy? If so, please state what this substitute was.* (D)
13. *Does your experience lead you to believe that it is wise for married people to have sex intercourse during pregnancy?* (D)
14. *Have you ever had an abortion performed?* (D)
15. *Why did you have it done? How was it done?* (D)

After all of the foregoing questions had been answered, information was sought on the following points:

(1) Date of birth.
(2) Date of marriage.
(3) Relative age of spouse.
(4) Number of children (total, living and dead).
(5) Number of children dead.
(6) Formal education.

(7) Cultural level. This datum for each case is necessarily of inferior value, since it reflects nothing more accurate than my own impression of the individual's cultural attainments.
(8) Formal education of spouse.
(9) Cultural level of spouse.
(10) Vocation.
(11) Vocation of spouse.
(12) Seniority of mother.
(13) Seniority of father.

CHAPTER III

Kinds and Degrees of Spousal Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction

I

A study of the completed records of both the men and the women disclosed the fact that 13 of the questions had been especially productive of answers which could be used in an effort to classify the 200 spouses as to apparent degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their marriages. Since there will be frequent need of such a classification as a general point of reference throughout the remainder of the text, it has seemed best to present the answers to these 13 questions in the present chapter. This involves a deviation from the order in which the questions were asked, but since the examination order will be followed in presenting the answers to all the other questions I do not believe that this exception will prove to be a source of serious inconvenience to any person who may wish to use Chapter II as a kind of index to my report of findings.

Any person who may be curious to know what grade would be given to his own marriage by the method employed here can easily settle the matter by observing the following directions: (1) When you have read the question that is printed at the top of any of the following tables, answer it for yourself without looking at the list of answers that were given by the 200 spouses. (2) Now examine the answers listed in the table and mark the one that most corresponds to your own. (3) If your answer corresponds to one that is starred (*) in the table, credit yourself with one point. Two of the answers in *Table 12* are marked with a double star (**); if your answer corresponds to either one

of these, credit yourself with two points. (4) After you have done this for each of the 13 tables count your points. If you have a total of 14 points, you have the highest grade that can be obtained by this method of estimating apparent degrees of spousal satisfaction with the marital venture. If you have a total of only 3 points or less, your spousal-satisfaction grade falls within the range of the grades obtained by those of the subjects of my research who were either separated or divorced from their spouses. A grade of 10 points or more will bring you within the "A" group, in which I found no subjects whose marriages impressed me as otherwise than reasonably happy ones.

Table 1

Card A: Question: *"What is there in your marriage that is especially unsatisfactory to you?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
*1. No factors make for serious dissatisfaction	39	25
2. Maladjustments due to wife's sexual inadequacy	25	15
3. Maladjustments due to husband's sexual inadequacy	5	14
4. Husband's fear of enslavement by the pleasure which he derives from sex intercourse with his wife	1	0
5. Husband's revolt against wife's sex demands, which he regards as excessive	1	0
6. Husband's sterility (not impotency)	1	0
7. Being deprived of sex intercourse during wife's pregnancy	1	0
8. Their sex life is unsatisfactory to both spouses, but the answer does not specifically attribute this to the inadequacy of either spouse	6	16
9. Husband's interest in other women (jealousy not specifically mentioned)	0	6
10. Wife's interest in other men (jealousy not specifically mentioned)	3	0
11. Husband's jealousy (specifically mentioned as such)	2	2

12. Wife's jealousy (specifically mentioned as such)	6	1
13. Her too frequent pregnancies	0	1
14. Her disinclination to have children	2	0
15. Frustration of her desire to have children	3	4
16. Husband's dissatisfaction with wife's premarital sex experiences	1	0
17. Disagreements as to the management of the children	2	0
18. Wife's inadequacy as a mother	1	0
19. Husband's inadequacy as a father	0	3
20. Difficulties attributed to the husband's family	2	3
21. Difficulties attributed to the wife's family	7	2
22. Their young children interfere with the spouses' enjoyment of each other	1	0
23. The husband's ill health	1	2
24. The wife's ill health	8	4
25. The ill health of both spouses	1	0
26. Interference of husband's vocational demands with their common spousal life	0	2
27. Interference of wife's vocational demands with their common spousal life	0	3
28. Interference of both spouses' vocational demands with their common spousal life	2	2
29. Unsatisfactory economic situation for which husband is blamed by wife	2	10
30. Unsatisfactory economic situation for which wife is blamed by husband	1	0
31. Unsatisfactory economic situation for which neither spouse specifically blames the other	5	10
32. Unsatisfactory social life for which the marriage or the spouse is held responsible	5	2
33. Husband finds the marriage irksome because of its unfreedom, limiting duties, etc.	10	0
34. Wife finds the marriage irksome because of its unfreedom, limiting duties, etc.	0	17
35. Wife finds economic dependence on husband irksome	0	1
36. Wife finds the conventionality of marriage irksome	0	1
37. The lack of affection between them	0	1
38. Insufficiency of husband's affection for wife	0	9
39. Insufficiency of wife's affection for husband	0	3
40. Husband is too much the "clinging vine," or "too infantile" in his emotional relationship to his wife	0	3

41. Attitudes of husband toward wife which she finds objectionable	0	11
42. Attitudes of wife toward husband which he finds objectionable	25	0
43. Husband's insufficiencies of intellectual, social, or vocational capacity	0	3
44. Wife's insufficiencies of intellectual, social, or vocational capacity	11	0
45. Objectionable habits, physical mannerisms, etc., of the spouse (not including alcoholism)	6	6
46. Husband's alcoholism	0	3
47. Husband's defects of culture or of formal education	0	3
48. Husband's dissatisfaction with fact that wife is older than he	1	0
49. Husband's instability, "lack of integration," or other traits which wife regards as fundamental defects of personality	0	19
50. Wife's instability, "lack of integration," or other traits which husband regards as fundamental defects of personality	14	0
51. Their general inability to effect a comfortable adjustment to each other	6	2
52. The lack of satisfactory companionship between them	8	8
53. Their inability to agree on things (spousal negativism?)	4	1
54. Their disparities of education, social and cultural background, etc.	3	3
55. His greater social popularity	0	1
56. Husband's inability to make his wife happy	1	0
57. Wife's inability to make her husband happy	0	1
58. They have no interests in common	10	5
59. Husband's lack of respect for wife	1	0
60. Wife's lack of respect for husband	0	1
61. Lack of sympathy and understanding between them	4	3
62. "Temperamental differences"	19	10
63. Difficulty in getting their religious beliefs reconciled	1	0
64. Husband's faults or incapacities about which he has insight, and which are a source of dissatisfaction to him rather than to his wife	12	0
65. Wife's faults or incapacities about which she has insight, and which are a source of dissatisfaction to her rather than to her husband	0	4

66. "Everything is unsatisfactory;" "Nothing is satisfactory;" and other sweeping generalizations as to the unsatisfactory nature of the marriage as a whole	2	11
67. Evasive or otherwise unproductive answers	0	2

Table 2

Card 2: Question 13: *"Have you any habits to which (your spouse) objects?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
*1. "No;" "Nothing serious;" "Only minor habits"	33	35
2. (Men answering) His attitude toward her; his treatment of her, etc.	5	0
(Women answering) Her attitude toward him; her treatment of him, etc.	0	8
3. Relating to care of person, physical mannerisms, etc.	20	20
4. Relating to routine activities (e.g., going to bed too late, being late for meals, not taking exercise, etc.)	13	20
5. Mental habits (e.g., too much inclined to criticize others, hasty judgments, etc.)	14	15
6. Habits which the spouse regards as coarse, fast, etc.	1	2
7. His use of alcohol	8	0
8. His smoking	8	0
9. Relating to insufficiencies of social adjustment	1	0
10. Relating to economic matters	9	3
11. (Men answering) His sexual inadequacy	1	0
(Women answering) Her lack of spontaneity in sex	0	1
12. (Men answering) His introduction of variations of the sex act which offend her	1	0
(Women answering) Her excessive sexual passion	0	1
13. (Men answering) His relations with other women	1	0

Footnote: It will be seen that the total number of entries in the columns headed "Number of persons giving such answers" exceeds 100 for each sex in *Table 1.* This is due to the fact that many of the subjects alluded to more than a single source of dissatisfaction. In any of the tables which follow, totals in excess of 100 for either sex can always be ascribed to an equivalent circumstance.

14. Habits or attitudes which the spouse regards as evidences of personality defects	14	6
15. Generalized statements which refer to shortcomings of the subject to which the spouse objects	1	2
16. "Don't know"	2	9
17. Question unanswered by subject, who apparently overlooked it	1	1

Table 3

Card 2: Question 14: *"Has (your spouse) any habits to which you object?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
*1. "No;" "Nothing serious;" "Only minor habits"	45	36
2. (Women answering) His attitude toward her; his treatment of her, etc.	0	9
(Men answering) Her attitude toward him; her treatment of him, etc.	15	0
3. Relating to care of person, physical mannerisms, etc.	18	26
4. Relating to routine activities	8	13
5. Mental habits	17	22
6. Habits which the spouse regards as coarse, fast, etc.	4	0
7. His use of alcohol	0	5
8. Her smoking	3	0
9. Relating to insufficiencies of social adjustment	8	6
10. Relating to economic matters	5	3
11. (Women answering) His belief that the sex act is weakening to him interferes with their sex life	0	1
(Men answering) Her inability to have an orgasm	3	0
(Men answering) She is too casual and matter-of-fact during sex act with him	1	0
12. (Women answering) His sexual exhibitionism (sly exposure of sex organ to strange women in public places)	0	1
(Men answering) Her behavior during sex act seems offensively coarse to him at times	1	0
13. (Women answering) His excessive indulgence in sex act with her	0	1
(Men answering) Her excessive sexual passion	1	0

14. (Women answering) His relations with other women	0	2
(Men answering) Her relations with other men	1	0
15. (Men answering) Her objection to his interest in other women is irksome to him	1	0
16. (Women answering) His attitude toward their children; his treatment of them, etc.	0	3
(Men answering) Her attitude toward their children; her treatment of them, etc.	1	0
17. Habits or attitudes which the spouse regards as evidences of personality defects	13	10
18. Generalized statements which refer to shortcomings of the subject's spouse	2	2

Table 4

Card 2: Question 15: *"Are you and your husband (or wife) socially and intellectually well-mated, or otherwise?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
*1. "Yes" as to both socially and intellectually	54	49
2. "Yes" as to socially, uncertain as to intellectually	14	10
3. "Yes" as to socially, "No" as to intellectually	7	3
4. "Yes" as to intellectually, uncertain as to socially	0	1
5. "Yes" as to intellectually, "No" as to socially	1	1
6. Uncertain as to both socially and intellectually	11	7
7. Uncertain as to socially, "No" as to intellectually	3	9
8. Uncertain as to intellectually, "No" as to socially	0	4
9. Not well mated, either socially or intellectually	10	16
Total	100	100
(Tabular analysis of above)		
Total who state that they are socially well-mated	75	62
Total who are uncertain as to whether they are socially well-mated	14	17
Total who state that they are not socially well-mated	11	21
Total	100	100

Total who state that they are intellectually well-mated	55	51
Total who are uncertain as to whether they are intellectually well-mated	25	21
Total who state that they are not intellectually well-mated	20	28
Total	100	100

Table 5

Card 3: Question 1: *"What is the principal source of trouble between you and your husband (or wife)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
*1. Nothing makes for trouble between them	37	37
2. Sex maladjustments due to wife's inadequacy	11	8
3. Sex maladjustments due to husband's inadequacy	4	2
4. Husband's fear of enslavement by the pleasure that he derives from sex intercourse with his wife	1	0
5. The wife's excessive sexual demands	1	0
6. Their common sex life is unsatisfactory to both spouses	3	12
7. The husband's interest in other women	3	4
8. The wife's interest in other men	2	0
9. The wife's jealousy	3	2
10. The wife's disinclination to have children	1	0
11. The frustration of her desire to have children (husband is opposed)	0	2
12. Husband's dissatisfaction with wife's premarital sex experiences	1	0
13. Disagreements as to the management of the children	1	2
14. Difficulties attributed to the husband's family	1	1
15. Difficulties attributed to the wife's family	1	2
16. The wife's ill health	4	0
17. Interference of husband's vocational demands with their common spousal life	0	5
18. The husband does not give his wife enough of his time	1	0
19. Interference of wife's vocational demands with their common spousal life	1	2
20. The wife takes her job too seriously	1	0

21. Unsatisfactory economic situation for which husband is blamed by wife	1	2
22. Disagreements about money matters	0	2
23. Unsatisfactory economic situation for which neither spouse specifically blames the other	2	3
24. Unsatisfactory social life for which the marriage or the spouse is blamed	6	1
25. Husband finds the marriage irksome because of its unfreedom, limiting duties, etc.	1	1
26. Wife finds the marriage irksome because of its unfreedom, limiting duties, etc.	3	0
27. The lack of affection between them	0	3
28. Insufficiency of husband's affection for wife	4	3
29. Insufficiency of wife's affection for husband	1	3
30. Husband is too much the "clinging vine," or "too infantile" in his emotional relationship to his wife	0	1
31. Attitudes of husband toward wife which she finds objectionable	0	15
32. Attitudes of wife toward husband which he finds objectionable	7	0
33. Husband's insufficiencies of intellectual, social, or vocational capacity	0	1
34. Wife's insufficiencies of intellectual, social, or vocational capacity	3	0
35. Objectionable habits, physical mannerisms, etc., of the spouse (not including alcoholism)	1	3
36. Husband's alcoholism	1	2
37. Husband's instability, "lack of integration," or other traits which wife regards as fundamental defects of personality	0	9
38. Wife's instability, "lack of integration," or other traits which husband regards as fundamental defects of personality	11	0
39. Their general inability to effect a comfortable adjustment to each other	3	0
40. Lack of satisfactory companionship between them	5	0
41. Their inability to agree on things	1	1
42. Their disparities of education, social and cultural background, etc.	1	0
43. They have no interests in common	2	2
44. Husband's lack of respect for wife	1	0
45. Lack of sympathy and understanding between them	2	4
46. "Temperamental differences"	8	6

47. Traits or habits of husband to which wife objects, thereby upsetting husband	3	0
48. His wife bores him	1	0
49. Husband's faults or incapacities about which he has insight, and which are a source of dissatisfaction to him rather than to his wife	4	0
50. Wife's faults or incapacities about which she has insight, and which are a source of dissatisfaction to her rather than to her husband	0	10
51. There is a difficulty, the nature of which he does not understand	1	0
52. Evasive or otherwise unproductive answers	1	3
53. Subject regards this question as equivalent to the one on *Card A* (as in *Table 1*), admits that there are maladjustments and states that the nature of these is implied in the answer to *Card A*	12	8

Table 6

Card 3: Question 2: *"How long after you were married did you begin to be seriously dissatisfied with any serious lack or shortcoming of (your spouse)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
*1. Never	44	39
2. Before marriage	7	1
3. From the beginning	8	9
4. On the honeymoon	1	2
5. One week	2	1
6. Just before the first menstruation after marriage	0	1
7. One month	1	1
8. Within a few months	9	6
9. The first year of marriage	3	5
10. The second year of marriage	2	9
11. The third year of marriage	1	5
12. The fourth year of marriage	0	5
13. The fifth year of marriage	2	2
14. Five years after marriage	2	4
15. Seven years after marriage	1	0
16. Eight years after marriage	2	0
17. Nine years after marriage	2	0
18. Ten years after marriage	0	1
19. "Only within recent years"	0	1
20. Inconclusive answers	13	8
Total	100	100

Total number of cases who began to be seriously dissatisfied with their spouses before the end of the first year of marriage	31	26
Total number of cases whose dissatisfaction began after the first year of marriage	12	27
Dissatisfaction implied but date of its beginning not specified	13	8
Total dissatisfied	56	61
Total never dissatisfied	44	39
Total	100	100

Table 7

Card 3: Question 3: *"Do you wish to go on living with (your spouse) for any of the following reasons . . . (e) because you love him (or her)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
*1. "Yes;" "That is the only reason"	78	75
2. "No"	11	15
3. Subject assumes that the fact that the marriage has terminated in separation or divorce implies the answer to this question	0	1
4. "I don't know"	1	6
5. Inconclusive answers (qualified affirmatives)	10	3
Total	100	100

Table 8

Card 3: Question 4: *"If by some miracle you could press a button and find that you had never becn married to your husband (or wife), would you press that button?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
*1. "No"	66	64
2. "No," qualified	8	8
3. Subject is uncertain about it	1	9
4. "Both ways" (a literally given answer which probably belongs with the 10 "Uncertains" in No. 3)	4	1

5. "Yes," qualified	3	2
6. He would press the button for his wife's benefit, but not for his own	1	0
7. "Yes"	14	14
8. Inconclusive answers	3	2
Total	100	100

Table 9

Card 3: Question 5: *"Knowing what you now know, would you wish to marry if you were unmarried?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
*1. "Yes"	77	74
2. "Yes," qualified	5	10
3. Uncertain	4	2
4. "No"	7	6
5. "No" qualified	4	2
6. Inconclusive answers	3	6
Total	100	100

Table 10

Card 16: Question 10: *"Describe your husband's (or wife's) disposition as well as you can."*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
*1. The subject's description of the spouse's disposition contains no reference whatsoever to any undesirable trait	29	17
2. The subject's description contains one or more references to undesirable traits of the spouse	71	83
Total	100	100

Both the men and the women gave such extensive descriptions of their spouses' dispositions and their answers conformed to so many different types that a detailed tabular presentation of this material would be of no value. On the

other hand, the variety of good and bad traits which the 200 married persons found in their spouses is in itself a valuable datum, and would justify publication if it were not likely to betray the identity of some of them whose answers were so highly individual that they might be recognized by persons who are close to them. The 100 women gave a total of 364 different kinds of good traits which they believed their husbands to have. The 83 women who included allusions to undesirable traits in their husbands gave a total of 266 different kinds of such traits. Good-tempered and generous husbands were more prevalent than ill-tempered and ungenerous ones, but, as is shown in *Table 10,* only 17 of the 100 wives omitted reference to at least one bad trait. The 100 men described only 91 different types of good traits as characteristic of their wives, but to offset this the 71 men who referred to undesirable traits gave a total of only 72 varieties of such traits. This discrepancy between the totals for the women and those for the men is probably due to the tendency of the women of my research to enter into detailed narrative where the men would characteristically generalize. Nevertheless, even this comforting assumption leaves something to be explained when we face the fact that 83 women could think, offhand, of 266 different kinds of undesirable traits in their 83 husbands, whilst 71 men could think of only 72 such traits in their 71 wives.

Table 11

Card 43: Question 1: *"What things in your married life annoy and dissatisfy you the most?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
*1. Nothing	23	21
2. Sex maladjustments due to wife's inadequacy	15	9
3. Sex maladjustments due to husband's inadequacy	3	6

4. Husband's fear of enslavement by the pleasure which he derives from sex intercourse with his wife	1	0
5. Their sex life is unsatisfactory to both spouses but the answer does not specifically attribute this to the inadequacy of either spouse	5	13
6. Husband's interest in other women	0	4
7. Wife's interest in other men	2	0
8. Wife's jealousy (specifically mentioned as such)	3	1
9. Her disinclination to have children	1	0
10. Frustration of the wife's desire to have children	1	6
11. Disagreements as to the management of the children	2	1
12. Wife's inadequacies as a mother	2	0
13. Difficulties attributed to the husband's family	1	2
14. Difficulties attributed to the wife's family	5	1
15. The husband's ill health	0	1
16. The wife's ill health	3	3
17. The ill health of their children	0	1
18. Interference of husband's vocational demands with their common spousal life	1	3
19. Interference of wife's vocational demands with their common spousal life	0	1
20. Interference of both spouses' vocational demands with their common spousal life	3	2
21. Unsatisfactory economic situation for which husband is blamed by wife	2	7
22. Unsatisfactory economic situation for which wife is blamed by husband	0	1
23. Unsatisfactory economic situation for which neither specifically blames the other	4	16
24. Unsatisfactory social life for which the marriage or the spouse is held responsible	2	7
25. Husband finds the marriage irksome because of its unfreedom, limiting duties, etc.	12	0
26. Wife finds the marriage irksome because of its unfreedom, limiting duties, etc.	2	24
27. The lack of affection between them	0	2
28. Insufficiency of husband's affection for wife	0	10
29. Insufficiency of wife's affection for husband	1	1
30. Husband is too much the "clinging vine," or "too infantile" in his emotional relationship to his wife	0	2
31. Attitudes of husband toward wife which she finds objectionable	0	17

32. Attitudes of wife toward husband which he finds objectionable	16	0
33. Husband's insufficiencies of intellectual, social, or vocational capacities	0	7
34. Wife's insufficiencies of intellectual, social, or vocational capacities	17	0
35. Objectionable habits, physical mannerisms, etc., of the spouse (not including alcoholism)	8	6
36. Husband's alcoholism	0	1
37. Husband's defects of culture or of formal education	0	1
38. Wife's tendency to overdo and get tired	2	0
39. Husband's instability, "lack of integration," or other traits which wife regards as fundamental defects of personality	0	13
40. Wife's instability, "lack of integration," or other traits which husband regards as fundadamental defects of personality	12	0
41. Their general inability to effect a comfortable adjustment to each other	1	1
42. The lack of satisfactory companionship between them	1	5
43. They have no interests in common	3	4
44. Lack of sympathy and understanding between them	1	4
45. "Temperamental differences"	4	8
46. Difficulty in getting their religious beliefs reconciled	0	1
47. Husband's faults or incapacities about which he has insight, and which are a source of dissatisfaction to him rather than to his wife	3	0
48. Wife's faults or incapacities about which she has insight, and which are a source of dissatisfaction to her rather than to her husband	0	8
49. "Everything is unsatisfactory;" "Nothing is satisfactory;" and other sweeping generalizations as to the unsatisfactory nature of the marriage as a whole	1	3
50. Subject recognizes the question as equivalent to the first one asked, admits annoyances and dissatisfactions, and refers examiner to the answer to *Card A*	14	13

Table 12

Card 43: Question 2: *"If your marriage is an unsuccessful one, what do you believe to be the chief cause of its failure?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
**1. "It is very successful;" "It is unusually successful," etc.	13	10
**2. "It is *not* unsuccessful;" "It is successful"	43	43
3. A qualified denial that it is unsuccessful	16	5
4. An admission that it is unsuccessful to some degree	7	9
5. It is unsuccessful, but subject does not rate it as wholly a failure	10	12
6. It is a failure (so stated by subject, without qualification)	3	5
7. It has ended in an apparently permanent separation	6	15
8. It has been terminated by divorce	2	1
Total	100	100
Factors to which the lack of success of the marriages was ascribed by the subjects:		
1. Subject regards the marriage as successful or as not sufficiently a failure to justify assigning reasons for failure (thus accounting for discrepancies between these totals and those in No. 1 and No. 2 above)	63	47
2. Sex maladjustments due to wife's inadequacy	3	2
3. Sex maladjustments due to husband's inadequacy	1	5
4. Sex maladjustments not specifically attributed to the inadequacy of either spouse	5	9
5. Husband's interest in other women	0	3
6. Her disinclination to have children	1	0
7. Husband's opposition to wife having children	1	0
8. Disagreements as to the management of the children	1	0
9. Wife's inadequacies as a mother	1	0
10. Difficulties attributed to the husband's family	2	1
11. Difficulties attributed to the wife's family	1	1
12. The husband's ill health	0	1
13. The wife's ill health	3	1

14. The ill health of both spouses	0	1
15. Unsatisfactory economic situation for which the husband is blamed by the wife	4	1
16. Unsatisfactory economic situation for which the wife is blamed by the husband	1	0
17. Unsatisfactory social life for which the marriage or the spouse is held responsible	2	0
18. Husband finds the marriage irksome because of its unfreedom, limiting duties, etc.	1	0
19. The lack of affection between them	0	1
20. Insufficiency of husband's affection for wife	2	1
21. Insufficiency of wife's affection for husband	1	0
22. Attitudes of husband toward wife which she finds objectionable	0	7
23. Attitudes of wife toward husband which he finds objectionable	5	0
24. Husband's insufficiencies of intellectual, social, or vocational capacity	0	6
25. Wife's insufficiencies of intellectual, social, or vocational capacity	5	0
26. Husband's alcoholism	1	2
27. Wife's defects of culture or of formal education	1	0
28. Husband's instability, "lack of integration," or other traits which wife regards as fundamental defects of personality	0	7
29. Wife's instability, "lack of integration," or other traits which husband regards as fundamental defects of personality	8	0
30. Their general inability to effect a comfortable adjustment to each other	2	0
31. The lack of satisfactory companionship between them	1	2
32. Their disparities of education, social and cultural background, etc.	2	1
33. They have no interest in common	1	1
34. The lack of sympathy and understanding between them	0	1
35. "Temperamental differences"	4	7
36. Husband's faults or incapacities about which he has insight, and which are a source of dissatisfaction to him rather than to his wife; but to which he attributes the failure of the marriage	8	0
37. Wife's faults or incapacities about which she has insight, and which are a source of dis-		

satisfaction to her rather than to her husband; but to which she attributes the failure of the marriage	0	12
38. Sweeping generalizations as to the unsatisfactory nature of the marriage	3	1
39. Evasive, inconclusive, or otherwise unproductive answers	0	5
40. Subject states that the causes of the failure of the marriage are already given in the answer to *Card A*	1	3

Table 13

Card 43: Question 4: *"What changes would you make in any of the following mental qualities of your husband (or wife): Temper? Talkativeness? Thriftiness? Carefulness of dress? Selfishness? Tendency to scold? Intelligence? Social standing? Religious life? Truthfulness? Tendency to flirt? Capacity for showing affection? Strength of sex desire? Vanity? Serious-mindedness?*

*1. Would make no changes in any of these qualities	21	14
2. Would give the spouse a better temper	28	29
The spouse hasn't enough temper; is too lacking in combativeness, etc.	2	7
3. The spouse is too talkative	20	13
The spouse is not talkative enough	4	30
4. The spouse is too thrifty	3	11
The spouse is not thrifty enough	16	21
The spouse's thrift is not the right kind	5	4
5. The spouse is not sufficiently careful of dress	1	23
The spouse is over-careful of dress	19	3
The spouse's taste in dress is not good	5	0
6. The spouse is too selfish	17	34
The spouse is too unselfish	2	1
The spouse's unselfishness is unsatisfactorily directed or of an undesirable quality	7	0
7. The spouse has a too great tendency to scold	24	14
Wife wishes husband would scold and let his displeasure evaporate rather than remain silent	0	1
8. The spouse has not sufficient intelligence or an unsatisfactory intellect	27	24
9. The spouse's social standing is unsatisfactory	20	21

10. The spouse is too religious or too conservative in his religious beliefs	0	3
The spouse is not sufficiently religious	9	15
The spouse's religious life is of an unsatisfactory quality	5	0
11. The spouse is not sufficiently truthful or is lacking in frankness	14	14
The spouse is too truthful	0	3
12. The spouse has a too great tendency to flirt	6	11
The spouse hasn't enough of a tendency to flirt	7	6
13. The spouse has a too great capacity for showing affection	4	3
The spouse has an insufficient capacity for showing affection	16	26
The spouse's methods of showing affection are unsatisfactory	8	4
14. The spouse's sex desire is too strong	5	9
The spouse's sex desire is not strong enough	25	15
The spouse's methods of expressing sex desire are unsatisfactory	6	4
15. The spouse is too vain or too conceited	9	20
The spouse hasn't enough vanity	6	2
The quality of the spouse's self-esteem is unsatisfactory	6	0
16. The spouse is too serious-minded	12	17
The spouse is not sufficiently serious-minded	3	8
The quality of the spouse's serious-mindedness is unsatisfactory	4	0

II

It will have been observed, of course, that the answers listed in Tables 1, 2, 3, 5, 11, and 12 are a good deal alike, and that the questions which elicited them have a corresponding similarity. In fact, many answers which are identical as to type are found in all six of these tables. It is therefore a matter of considerable interest that the number of persons who gave a given type of answer varied so widely from table to table. For example, in *Table 1,* 25 men and 15 women referred to sex maladjustment due to the wife's inadequacy as an especially unsatisfactory feature of their marriages, but in *Table 11* this answer is given by only 15 men and 9 women in response to the question,

"What things in your married life annoy and dissatisfy you the most?" In *Table 1*, 14 women allude to the husband's sexual inadequacy as especially unsatisfactory and in *Table 11* this figure drops to 6. The more closely one examines the findings in the 12 tables of the present chapter, the more likely is he to suspect that dissatisfied spouses do not themselves know why their marital ventures have been disappointing. It is easy enough to conclude from casual observation that sex maladjustments, economic difficulties, or the inadequacy of marriage as a mode of human relationship are chiefly to blame, but when such conclusions are examined in the light of what the above 12 tables and the several hundred tables that follow have to tell they do not fare as well as might be expected. On the other hand, the findings that have just been presented have value as an index of spousal satisfaction or dissatisfaction, and I believe that they may fairly be used in grading the 200 cases on this point. Of course only a provisional grading can be made on this basis, but I find that grades obtained by more complicated calculations, involving the use of a great deal more of the answer-material, do not differ sufficiently from those that are presented below to justify their exposition in a text of this kind.

The satisfaction-grade of each spouse as it is given in *Table 14* was obtained as follows: one point was allowed for each answer in Tables 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 13 which indicated either complete absence of dissatisfaction or the maximum of satisfaction with reference to the matter alluded to in the question. In *Table 12* two points were allowed for a definite and unqualified assertion that the marriage was a successful one. The maximum number of points that any spouse could score was therefore 14, since the answer of any person who wholly disavowed dissatisfaction or claimed the maximum degree of satisfaction was counted but once each in 12 of the 13 tables.

Table 14

Satisfaction-Grades of the 200 Spouses *

Grades	Number of Persons Who Obtained Such Grades— *Men*	*Women*
14	2	2
13	1	3
12	8	0
11	6	8
10	12	8
9	6	7
8	8	12
7	8	5
6	4	10
5	9	4
4	9	9
3	12	5
2	8	11
1	4	10
0	3	6
Total	100	100

The total number of points scored by the men was 658, and by the women 592. This evidence of a greater degree of satisfaction of the men, taken as a group, with their marriages than was shown by the women must be due, in part at least, to the circumstance that, while 15 of the 100 women were either divorced or separated from their husbands, this was true of only 8 of the men. However, there is evidence that this was not the only factor in determining the greater number of points obtained by the men. It will be remembered that there were 55 couples represented in the list of 200 subjects. The 55 husbands of these couples obtained a total of 380 points while the 55 wives had only 350 points. Eight of the couples had identical grades, 28 of the men had each a higher grade than his wife to only 19 men who had each a lower grade than his wife. These findings

* It is perhaps already quite clear that a grade of 14 points indicates the highest and a grade of 0 the lowest degree of satisfaction with the marriage that can be shown by this method of rating answers.

correspond to a very definite impression that I obtained from personal contacts with the 200 spouses—viz., that the women, taken as a group, had been more seriously disappointed in their marriages than had the men.

Since the grades ran from 0 to 14 we have 15 different groups, which will be an awkwardly large number to deal with in presenting descriptive correlations. It is possible to reduce this number to 5 by a regrouping which follows fairly natural lines of cleavage, because the detailed analyses of records was preceded by a study of each record as a whole, and each spouse was graded with reference to the following general criteria of success or failure:

A—Obviously successful marriages: no significantly qualifying discontent or dissatisfaction with the marital situation on the part of either spouse.

B—Fairly successful marriages: more or less chronic elements of discontent or dissatisfaction which do not have, however, any apparently disruptive qualities, and which the spouse regards as overbalanced by the satisfactory features of the marriage.

C—Marriages of doubtful success: persistent and irksome maladjustments upon which the spouse is focussed in an effort to correct them, and which are associated with a high degree of attachment between husband and wife.

D—Intolerably bad marriages: the spouse finds the marriage to be overwhelmingly a source of discontent, dissatisfaction, and grievance, but has taken no steps toward terminating it.

E—Marriages which have terminated in separation.

F—Marriages which have terminated in divorce.

It did not seem to me that groupings obtained by such an essentially impressionistic method could properly be used as points of reference for correlations, since they must inevitably reflect a good deal of the examiner's personal bias. They proved to be very useful after the more impersonal

and objective method of grading was completed, and an effort was made to decide upon a regrouping of the point-grades. It was quickly apparent that the persons whose grades appear in *Table 14,* as represented by 10, 11, 12, 13, or 14 points each, are, with a few easily explained exceptions, the same persons to whom I had assigned the impressionistic *Grade A.* The exceptions were cases in which my own likes, dislikes, and moral judgments had unduly affected my estimate of the success or failure of marriages between persons whom I found attractive or unattractive, or whose moral code I approved or disapproved.

Cases with grades of 7, 8, or 9 points each corresponded closely enough to my impressionistic *Grade B* group to justify me, in my opinion, in throwing them together as a single group, and dealing with them as a unit for purposes of correlation with other findings. Cases with 5 or 6 points each correspond to my *Grade C* group, and will hereafter be dealt with as a unit.

Cases with grades of 0, 1, 2, 3, or 4 points each are not so easily disposed of. Of the 23 spouses who were either separated or divorced at the time of the examination, only 1 had a satisfaction-grade of more than 3 points. This exceptional case was a woman who still loved her husband, and had lost him to another woman without there having been time for much preliminary squabbling about it. Her grade was 5. In addition to 22 separated or divorced ones there were 37 spouses whose grades ranged from 0 to 3 points each. These 37 persons belong in my impressionistic *Grade D* group and offer no great difficulty. It is the group of 9 men and 9 women who had grades of 4 points each that I find difficult to classify. It is my impression that they, too, belong to my *Grade D* group, but we cannot overlook the fact that their 4 points bring them outside the range of the separated and divorced cases, if we except the one separated woman already alluded to. I have finally

decided not to group the separated and divorced cases separately, but to include them in a single group with all the other cases whose grades were 0, 1, 2, or 3 each. The exceptional case will be excluded, of course, and put with the group that has not less than 5 nor more than 6 points per case. The classification of spouses according to apparent degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the marital situation which was finally adopted, and which will be followed throughout the remainder of the text, is as follows:

Table 15

Distribution of Cases according to Satisfaction-Grades

Grade	Number of Persons Who Obtained Such Grades— *Men*	*Women*
A.—Includes all persons having 10 to 14 points each	29	21
B.—Includes all persons having 7 to 9 points each	22	24
C.—Includes all persons having 5 to 6 points each	13	14
D.—Includes all persons having 4 points each	9	9
E.—Includes all persons having 0 to 3 points each	27	32
Total	100	100

III

In Tables 1, 2, 3, 5, 11, 12, and 13 are answers which explicitly refer to sexual inadequacy of the spouses of the persons who gave such answers. A net total of 20 women and 38 men are represented one or more times each in these tables as persons who found their spouses sexually inadequate as to potency, strength of sex desire, or ability to perform the sex act with normal vigor and completeness. A question at once arises as to whether or not these are the persons who gave us the low satisfaction grades. The answer is given in the next Table.

Table 16

Satisfaction Grades of Persons Who Regarded their Spouses as Sexually Inadequate

Grade	Men		Women	
	Number	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*
A	3	7.89	1	5.00
B	9	23.68	1	5.00
C	9	23.68	5	25.00
D	4	10.53	4	20.00
E	13	34.21	9	45.00
Total	38	99.99	20	100.00

These very interesting percentages suggest that women tolerate sexual inadequacy in husbands less well than men tolerate it in wives. Thus we see that 90 percent of the 20 women who regard their husbands as sexually inadequate have the relatively low *C, D,* and *E* grades, while only 68.42 percent of the men with sexually inadequate wives belong in the *C–D–E* group. *Table 15* shows that 55 percent of all women and 49 percent of all men belong in the *C–D–E* group.

CHAPTER IV

Marital Economics

I

During the early days of my career as a psychiatrist an elderly bachelor who told me many things about life assured me that the matrimonial barque is usually wrecked on the rock of finance. He was a wise old gentleman whose impressions were worth listening to, but it is likely that he over-rated the importance of marital economics as a source of discontent. On the other hand, Freud has taught us to suspect that the individual's attitude toward money may largely be determined by the operation of reactive tendencies which are closely related to, if not identical with, the so-called sex instinct. It is my impression that the individual's predicaments, attitudes, and habits with reference to money matters also often reflect the degree and kinds of his subjective inferiorities and the modes of compensating for these that are characteristic of him. The findings presented in the present chapter will afford interesting points of reference for correlations with facts relating to the sex histories of the 200 persons of the research.

Table 17

Card 1: Question 1: (*For Women*) *"As nearly as you can recall it, what was your husband's income for each year of your married life, including his expected income for the present year?"* (*For Men*) *"As nearly as you can recall it, what was your income for each year of your married life, including your expected income for the present year?"*

"(If the income has been more than $5,000.00 for any given year, you may simply say so, without specifying the amount.)"

Husband's Present Annual Income

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Less than $1,000.00, supplemented by an allowance	1	1
2. $1,500.00 to $1,800.00	1	1
3. $1,801.00 to $2,000.00	2	3
4. $2,001.00 to $2,500.00	2	4
5. $2,501.00 to $3,000.00	5	3
6. $3,001.00 to $3,500.00	7	4
7. $3,501.00 to $4,000.00	8	5
8. $4,001.00 to $4,500.00	7	7
9. $4,501.00 to $5,000.00	12	12
10. More than $5,000.00	50	50
11. Less than $1,500.00, supplemented by wife's earnings	2	0
12. Uncertain what present year's income will be	3	6
13. "Less than $5,000.00" (amount not specified)	0	2
14. Is temporarily living on savings or allowance	0	2
Total	100	100

Husband's Income the First Year of Marriage

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Less than $1,000.00, supplemented by an allowance	9	6
2. $1,000.00 to $1,500.00	11	18
3. $1,501.00 to $1,800.00	8	14
4. $1,801.00 to $2,000.00	9	6
5. $2,001.00 to $2,500.00	10	13
6. $2,501.00 to $3,000.00	17	11
7. $3,001.00 to $3,500.00	0	2
8. $3,501.00 to $4,000.00	5	2
9. $4,001.00 to $4,500.00	3	0
10. $4,501.00 to $5,000.00	3	3
11. More than $5,000.00	16	14
12. "Don't know," "uncertain," etc.	7	7
13. "Less than $5,000.00" (amount not specified)	0	1
14. Earned nothing (lived on allowance or savings)	2	3
Total	100	100

Husband's Maximum Annual Income for Entire Period of Married Life

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. $1,200.00 to $1,500.00	1	0
2. $1,501.00 to $1,800.00	0	2
3. $1,801.00 to $2,000.00	2	2
4. $2,001.00 to $2,500.00	2	3
5. $2,501.00 to $3,000.00	5	3
6. $3,001.00 to $3,500.00	6	2
7. $3,501.00 to $4,000.00	7	6
8. $4,001.00 to $4,500.00	7	8
9. $4,501.00 to $5,000.00	13	10
10. More than $5,000.00	54	53
11. "Don't know," "uncertain," etc.	2	10
12. "Less than $5,000.00" (amount not specified)	0	1
13. "Less than $500.00"	1	0
Total	100	100

Husband's Minimum Annual Income for Entire Period of Married Life

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. $1,000.00 or less	13	8
2. $1,001.00 to $1,500.00	14	18
3. $1,501.00 to $1,800.00	8	11
4. $1,801.00 to $2,000.00	8	6
5. $2,001.00 to $2,500.00	9	11
6. $2,501.00 to $3,000.00	15	9
7. $3,001.00 to $3,500.00	1	3
8. $3,501.00 to $4,000.00	4	1
9. $4,001.00 to $4,500.00	5	0
10. $4,501.00 to $5,000.00	3	2
11. More than $5,000.00	12	11
12. "Don't know," "uncertain," etc.	4	11
13. Earned nothing (lived on allowance, savings or investment income)	4	7
14. "Less than $5,000.00"	0	2
Total	100	100

Table 18

Card 1: Question 2: (*For Women*) *"How much, if any, money have you earned during each year of your married life?"* (*For Men*) *"How much, if any, money has your wife earned during each year of your married life?"*

Wife's Present Annual Earnings

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Nothing	50	55
2. Very little	11	8
3. $100.00 to $300.00	2	4
4. $301.00 to $500.00	2	1
5. $501.00 to $1,000.00	3	3
6. $1,001.00 to $1,500.00	6	7
7. $1,501.00 to $2,000.00	4	8
8. $2,001.00 to $2,500.00	3	2
9. $2,501.00 to $3,000.00	4	3
10. $3,001.00 to $3,500.00	3	1
11. $3,501.00 to $4,000.00	0	1
12. $4,001.00 to $4,500.00	0	0
13. $4,501.00 to $5,000.00	1	1
14. More than $5,000.00	1	1
15. May be anywhere from $1,000.00 to $5,000.00	0	1
16. Amount not specified	10	4
Total	100	100

Wife's Income the First Year of Marriage

1. Nothing	44	50
2. Very little	12	11
3. $100.00 to $300.00	1	3
4. $301.00 to $500.00	6	6
5. $501.00 to $1,000.00	8	8
6. $1,001.00 to $1,500.00	9	5
7. $1,501.00 to $2,000.00	5	4
8. $2,001.00 to $2,500.00	0	1
9. $2,501.00 to $3,000.00	1	1
10. $3,001.00 to $3,500.00	1	2
11. Amount not specified	13	9
Total	100	100

Wife's Total Earnings Since Marriage

1. Nothing	36	35
2. Very little	9	6
3. $100.00 to $300.00	6	4
4. $301.00 to $500.00	4	4
5. $501.00 to $1,000.00	6	13
6. $1,001.00 to $1,500.00	4	5
7. $1,501.00 to $2,000.00	2	3
8. $2,001.00 to $2,500.00	3	4
9. $2,501.00 to $3,000.00	1	1
10. $3,001.00 to $3,500.00	4	0
11. $3,501.00 to $4,000.00	2	1
12. $4,001.00 to $4,500.00	0	0
13. $4,501.00 to $5,000.00	1	1
14. More than $5,000.00	18	18
15. Amount not specified	4	5
Total	100	100

Table 19

Card 1: Question 3: (*For Women*) *"Have you now, or have you ever had since marriage, any presents of money or property from your parents or other relatives?"* (*For Men*) *"Has your wife ever had, since marriage, any presents of money or property from her parents or other relatives?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Nothing	39	32
2. Small gifts; small sums; wedding gifts, etc.	21	22
3. A few hundreds to $1,000.00; an automobile; household goods, etc.	8	9
4. A regular small allowance; a small legacy; an insurance policy, etc.	2	6
5. An income of $50.00 to $100.00 per month; land, legacies, securities or money not exceeding a total of $5,000.00 in value	13	12
6. Gifts of property or money exceeding a total of $5,000.00 in value	10	9
7. "Yes"—value of gifts not specified	7	10
Total	100	100

Table 20

Card 1: Question 4: (*For Women*) *"Have you ever had, since marriage, any income from property or securities of your own?"* (*For Men*) *"Has your wife ever had, since marriage, any income from property or securities of her own?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. None	54	57
2. Less than $100.00 annually	5	3
3. $100.00 to $500.00 annually	7	5
4. $501.00 to $1,000.00 annually	5	1
5. $1,001.00 to $1,500.00 annually	4	2
6. $2,001.00 to $2,500.00 annually	1	0
7. $4,500.00 to $5,000.00 annually	2	0
8. More than $5,000.00 annually	1	0
9. "Yes" (amount not specified)	17	15
10. "A small income"	4	9
11. Inconclusive answers	0	8
Total	100	100

Table 21

Card 1: Question 5: (*For Women*) *"Do you ever make your husband feel uncomfortable because you contribute toward the family support or your own support out of money of your own?"* (*For Men*) *"Does your wife ever make you feel uncomfortable because she contributes toward the family support or her own support out of money of her own?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "Yes"	8	15
2. "Yes," qualified	1	0
3. Did formerly, doesn't now	2	0
4. "I don't know whether I do or not"	0	4
5. "No," qualified	9	0
6. "No"	79	77
7. Inconclusive answers	1	4
Total	100	100

Table 22

Card 1: Question 6: (*For Women*) *"Does your husband give you a regular monthly allowance for household and your own personal expenses? If so, how much?"* (*For Men*) *"Do you give your wife a regular monthly allowance for household and her own personal expenses? If so, how much?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Each pays a share	2	6
2. They pool their earnings	5	4
3. She manages the finances	8	3
4. He gives her more than half his income	0	1
5. They use a budget system	6	2
6. "Yes," sum not specified	0	7
7. Formerly gave her an allowance, but doesn't now	0	3
8. They have a joint bank account	19	5
9. Yes, when he has occupation	0	1
10. Yes, a variable amount	1	2
11. $500.00 to $1,000.00 per annum	2	5
12. $1,001.00 to $1,500.00 per annum	7	6
13. $1,501.00 to $2,000.00 per annum	4	4
14. $2,001.00 to $2,500.00 per annum	6	4
15. $2,501.00 to $3,000.00 per annum	3	6
16. $3,001.00 to $3,500.00 per annum	1	0
17. $3,501.00 to $4,000.00 per annum	0	1
18. $4,001.00 to $4,500.00 per annum	2	1
19. More than $5,000.00 per annum	4	5
20. He settled money on her, income from which supports her and the household	1	0
21. She has an income of her own	3	0
22. "No"	26	34
Total	100	100

Table 23

Card 1: Question 7: (*For Women*) *"Do you keep within your allowance?"* (*For Men*) *"Does your wife keep within her allowance?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "Yes"	32	31
2. "Usually;" "On the whole;" "Almost always," etc.	6	7
3. "Not always"	3	3
4. "No"	5	7
5. Wife supplements allowance with her own earnings or income	1	2
6. Has no allowance—did when she had one	0	1
7. Has no allowance—question inapplicable	51	48
8. Inconclusive answers	2	1
Total	100	100

Table 24

Card 1: Question 8: *"Do you follow a budget? If so, please state how long you have followed one, and with what success."*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "Yes"	13	32
2. Yes, after a fashion; irregularly, etc.	18	3
3. Have tried it	14	16
4. Wife does, husband does not	1	0
5. Husband does, wife does not	2	2
6. "No"	48	47
7. Inconclusive answers	4	0
Total	100	100

How Long Budget Was Followed

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Have used a budget for more than 2 years	23	17
2. Used budget several years, then discontinued it	1	1
3. Used budget more than 1 year but less than 2 years	2	5
4. Used budget less than 1 year	0	6
5. Use a budget irregularly	6	2
6. Have tried a budget many times	1	0
7. Never used a budget—question inapplicable	48	48
8. Inconclusive answers	19	21
Total	100	100

Success with Which Budget Was Used

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Successfully	19	17
2. Found it helpful	4	4
3. With variable success	2	0
4. Followed it roughly, not closely; haven't followed it long enough to know, etc.	1	8
5. Generally ran over it; it made no difference in their ability to manage finances; found it irksome, etc.	4	3
6. Unsuccessfully	10	11
7. Never used a budget—question inapplicable	48	48
8. Inconclusive answers	12	9
Total	100	100

Table 25

Card 1: Question 9: (*For Women*) *"Do you spend more for personal and household things than your husband considers wise and fair?"* (*For Men*) *"Does your wife spend more for personal and household things than you consider wise and fair?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "Yes"	5	6
2. "Yes," qualified	5	8
3. Is doubtful about it	0	2
4. "No," qualified	8	4
5 "No"	82	75
6. Inconclusive answers	0	5
Total	100	100

Table 26

Card 1: Question 10: (*For Women*) *"Is your husband extravagant, stingy, or fair in his habits and attitudes with reference to money matters?"* (*For Men*) *"Is your wife extravagant, stingy, or fair in her habits and attitudes with reference to money matters?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "Fair;" "Sensible;" "Generous with the family"	87	66
2. Wife is stingy with herself, but not with family	3	0
3. Husband is very saving, but is not stingy or unfair	0	2
4. Wife spends unwisely rather than extravagantly	2	0
5. Spouse is erratic: stingy in some things and extravagant in others	3	5
6. Wife is a little extravagant	1	0
7. Spouse is extravagant	4	17
8. Husband is stingy, unfair, selfish, etc.	0	9
9. Inconclusive answer	0	1
Total	100	100

Table 27

Card 1: Question 11: *"Does your (spouse) consider you extravagant, stingy, or fair in your habits and attitudes with reference to money matters?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "Fair;" "Sensible;" "Generous with family"	55	60
2. Wife thinks he doesn't spend enough on himself	4	0
3. Spouse thinks subject is erratic: stingy in some things and extravagant in others	9	6
4. Spouse thinks subject is a little extravagant	10	0
5. Spouse thinks subject is extravagant	15	15
6. Spouse thinks subject is over-cautious; makes too much of money, etc.	2	3
7. Spouse thinks subject is stingy; unfair; selfish, etc.	0	3
8. Inconclusive answers	5	13
Total	100	100

Table 28

Card 1: Question 12: *"Is there much friction between you on account of money?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "Yes"	4	22
2. "Yes," qualified	13	3
3. "No"	66	59
4. "No," qualified	17	16
Total	100	100

Table 29

Card 1: Question 13: *"Has there ever been friction between you on account of money?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "Yes"	22	36
2. "Yes," qualified	16	4
3. "No"	43	48
4. "No," qualified	19	11
5. Inconclusive answer	0	1
Total	100	100

Table 30

Card 1: Question 14: *"If you own a home, is it paid for, or are you in debt on your home?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Owns a home and it is fully paid for	11	12
2. Owns a home which is not fully paid for	33	32
3. Does not own a home	56	56
Total	100	100

Table 31

Card 1: Question 15: *"How much have you saved since marriage?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Less than $1,000.00	2	4
2. $1,000.00 to $5,000.00	27	16
3. More than $5,000.00 but less than $10,000.00	9	2
4. $10,000.00 to $25,000.00	12	11
5. More than $25,000.00	7	8
6. Equities in houses, insurance, etc., value of which subject gave no estimate	6	16
7. Nothing	30	28
8. "Don't know" and other inconclusive answers	7	15
Total	100	100

Table 32

Card 1: Question 16: *"If you have not saved a reasonable amount since marriage, is it your fault, or your (spouse's), or nobody's fault?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Husband's fault	12	12
2. Wife's fault	4	6
3. The fault of both spouses	9	8
4. Nobody's fault	38	37
5. They have saved a reasonable amount	36	34
6. Inconclusive answers	1	3
Total	100	100

II

From a psychiatric standpoint the most interesting correlations involving the data in *Tables 17* to *32* cannot be presented until we come to the various chapters in which the sex histories of the spouses are tabulated, but it will be of interest at this point to trace a few apparent relationships between satisfaction-grades (as given in Chapter III) and answers to questions concerning marital economics. In *Table 17* we find that 50, or exactly 50 percent, of the men state that their present annual incomes exceed $5,000.00, and that the women give the same figures in answering for their husbands. There at once arises the question, "Do these 50 men and 50 women grade higher or lower as to general satisfaction with their marriages than the other 50 men and 50 women from families in which the husband's income is $5,000.00 per annum or less? The answer is given in the next table:

Table 33

Satisfaction Grades of the 50 Men Whose Annual Incomes Exceed $5,000.00 and of the 50 Men Whose Annual Incomes Are $5,000.00 or Less

	No. of Men with More than $5,000.00 Annual Income (50)	No. of Men with $5,000.00 or Less Annual Income (50)
Grade *A* . .	16 (32.00%)	13 (26.00%)
Grade *B* . .	10 (20.00%)	12 (24.00%)
Grade *C* . .	6 (12.00%)	7 (14.00%)
Grade *D* . .	6 (12.00%)	3 (6.00%)
Grade *E* . .	12 (24.00%)	15 (30.00%)
Total . .	50 (100.00%)	50 (100.00%)

Satisfaction Grades of the 50 Women Whose Husbands' Annual Incomes Exceed $5,000.00 and of the 50 Women Whose Husbands' Annual Incomes Are $5,000.00 or Less

	No. of Women Whose Husbands Have More than $5,000.00 Annual Income (50)	No. of Women Whose Husbands Have $5,000.00 or Less Annual Income (50)
Grade *A* . .	12 (24.00%)	9 (18.00%)
Grade *B* . .	15 (30.00%)	9 (18.00%)
Grade *C* . .	5 (10.00%)	9 (18.00%)
Grade *D* . .	5 (10.00%)	4 (8.00%)
Grade *E* . .	13 (26.00%)	19 (38.00%)
Total . .	50 (100.00%)	50 (100.00%)

Any effort to interpret the figures in the above table must take into account the fact that grades *A* and *B* indicate relatively high degrees of spousal satisfaction with the marriage as a whole, grade *C* a considerable degree of dissatisfaction and grades *D* and *E* relatively high degrees of dissatisfaction. It is of interest to note that 54 percent of the women whose husbands have the larger incomes fall within the *A–B* group whilst only 36 percent of those whose husbands have the smaller incomes are in the *A–B* group. The corresponding figures for the men, it will be seen, are 52

percent and 50 percent, which suggests that the marital satisfaction of the men of my study is much less dependent on size of income than is that of the women.

III

36 men stated that their wives had earned nothing during marriage, and 35 women, answering for themselves, stated that they had earned nothing whatsoever during marriage. (See *Table 18.*) The next table gives the satisfaction grades of this group:

Table 34

Satisfaction Grades of the 36 Men Whose Wives Had Earned Nothing Whatsoever During Marriage (the Grades of the Other 64 Men Are Included for Purposes of Comparison)

	No. of Men Whose Wives Earned Nothing During Marriage (36)	All Other Men (64)
Grade *A*	14 (38.89%)	15 (23.44%)
Grade *B*	8 (22.22%)	14 (21.88%)
Grade *C*	4 (11.11%)	9 (14.06%)
Grade *D*	2 (5.56%)	7 (10.94%)
Grade *E*	8 (22.22%)	19 (29.69%)
Total	36 (100.00%)	64 (100.01%)

Satisfaction Grades of the 35 Women Who Had Earned Nothing Whatsoever During Marriage (the Grades of the Other 65 Women Are Included for Purposes of Comparison)

	No. of Women Who Earned Nothing During Marriage (35)	All Other Women (65)
Grade *A*	13 (37.14%)	8 (12.31%)
Grade *B*	9 (25.71%)	15 (23.08%)
Grade *C*	2 (5.71%)	12 (18.46%)
Grade *D*	4 (11.43%)	5 (7.69%)
Grade *E*	7 (20.00%)	25 (38.46%)
Total	35 (99.99%)	65 (100.00%)

We find here that 62.85 percent of the non-earning wives grade *A* or *B* as to general satisfaction with their marriages whilst only 35.39 percent of all the other women of the study have *A* or *B* grades. The corresponding figures for the men, it will be seen, point in the same direction. Of course this suggests the possibility that wage earning by wives unfavorably affects the contentment of both spouses, but alternative explanations must be considered here. A tendency to seek paid occupation outside the home may be symptomatic of an already existing dissatisfaction with the marriage, and such dissatisfaction might be due to a great variety of causes. In the proper place we shall have an opportunity to trace any connection which may appear to exist between the failure of women to have orgasms and a tendency to seek extra-domestic vocations.

IV

In my clinical dealings with spouses I have always insisted that the failure of husbands to give their wives unqualified control of a fair and definite proportion of the total family income is an important determinant of marital unhappiness. This is only one of the many clinically derived impressions of my own or of my colleagues which have been deflated by the present research. The next table gives the satisfaction grades of 26 men and 34 women from families in which the wives received no fixed and regular allowances * of money from their husbands:

* Some of my feminist friends quite justly object to the implication of the phrase, "The husband gives the wife an allowance." I am sure that they will forgive its use here, where brevity and clearness are so essential in tabular presentations of findings.

Table 35

Satisfaction Grades of the 26 Men Who Do Not Give Their Wives Regular Allowances of Money for Household and Personal Expenses

	No. of Men Who Do Not Give Their Wives Allowances (26)	All Other Men (74)
Grade *A* . .	10 (38.46%)	19 (25.68%)
Grade *B* . .	4 (15.38%)	18 (24.32%)
Grade *C* . .	2 (7.69%)	11 (14.86%)
Grade *D* . .	2 (7.69%)	7 (9.46%)
Grade *E* . .	8 (30.77%)	19 (25.68%)
Total . .	26 (99.99%)	74 (100.00%)

Satisfaction Grades of the 34 Women Whose Husbands Do Not Give Them Regular Allowances of Money for Household and Personal Expenses

	No. of Women Whose Husbands Do Not Give Them Allowances (34)	All Other Women (66)
Grade *A* . .	7 (20.59%)	14 (21.21%)
Grade *B* . .	11 (32.35%)	13 (19.70%)
Grade *C* . .	5 (14.71%)	9 (13.64%)
Grade *D* . .	3 (8.82%)	6 (9.09%)
Grade *E* . .	8 (23.53%)	24 (36.36%)
Total . .	34 (100.00%)	66 (100.00%)

The above table shows that 52.94 percent of the no-allowance wives and 40.91 percent of all other wives had *A* or *B* grades as to general satisfaction. The corresponding percentages for the men are 53.84 percent and 50.00 percent respectively.

V

30 of the men and 28 of the women of my studies stated that they and their spouses had saved nothing since marriage. Their satisfaction grades and those of the spouses who had saved something are given below:

Table 36

Satisfaction Grades of the 30 Men Who Saved Nothing During Marriage

	No. of Men Who Saved Nothing (30)	All Other Men (70)
Grade *A* . .	6 (20.00%)	23 (32.86%)
Grade *B* . .	5 (16.67%)	17 (24.29%)
Grade *C* . .	3 (10.00%)	10 (14.28%)
Grade *D* . .	4 (13.33%)	5 (7.14%)
Grade *E* . .	12 (40.00%)	15 (21.43%)
Total . .	30 (100.00%)	70 (100.00%)

Satisfaction Grades of the 28 Women Who (with Their Husbands) Saved Nothing During Marriage

	No. of Women Who (with Their Husbands) Saved Nothing (28)	All Other Women (72)
Grade *A* . .	5 (17.86%)	16 (22.22%)
Grade *B* . .	4 (14.29%)	20 (27.78%)
Grade *C* . .	4 (14.29%)	10 (13.89%)
Grade *D* . .	1 (3.57%)	8 (11.11%)
Grade *E* . .	14 (50.00%)	18 (25.00%)
Total . .	28 (100.01%)	72 (100.00%)

32.15 percent of the non-saving group of women have *A* or *B* grades as to general satisfaction, which is in rather marked contrast to the 50.00 percent of *A* and *B* grades for the women who do not belong to the non-saving group. The figures for the men are 36.67 percent for the non-saving group and 57.15 percent for the saving group. It is clear that in the case of the 200 spouses of our study a tendency to save after marriage is associated with a tendency to find greater satisfaction with the marital situation as a whole than is experienced by those who lack either opportunity or inclination to save. These correlations, which are presented here as mere facts of description, might mean any of a number of different things. Everything else being equal,

one would expect a happily married couple to be more interested in providing for their common future than an unhappily married one. But here, again, we are dealing with correlations which involve only two specific types of findings, and which have no reference to extensive psychodynamic patterns or contexts of which they may be only a part. For example, subjective inferiorities and undesirably deflected sexual and other primary sensual impulsions might easily be essential components of a psychodynamic pattern which would include a tendency toward thrift or its opposite.

CHAPTER V

Mothers, Mothers-in-Law, and Others

I

In the ordinary routine of psychiatric practise it is often desirable to estimate the extent to which the upsetting personal relationships experienced by nervous patients are merely symptomatic of their own badly adjusted personalities. Even a psychoneurotic person's spouse can be tactless, selfish, over-dominant, and lacking in sympathy and understanding—a possibility which is not always given due consideration. Unfortunately, after the psychiatrist has heard both sides of the story he must still acknowledge to himself that even the generally accepted explanations of the various types of maladjustment to intimate human relationships are at best mere guesses, most of which are either over-simple and unconvincingly schematic or too vague to be of value. In New York most intellectually sophisticated persons have been assured by friends who have been psychoanalyzed in Vienna, Berlin, or at home that maladjustments to family and other intimately personal situations are in turn symptomatic of underlying sexual maladjustments. This is a generally accepted view of the matter which, in spite of its essential conformity to Freud's pronouncements, needs to be reformulated and examined in the light of more critically adduced findings than the psychoanalysts can supply. The present study could not be greatly extended to serve this purpose without exceeding its predetermined scope, but it has a few findings to offer which are at least descriptive of some of the facts involved. These will seem less dully statistical to the lay reader if he will bear in mind the following possibility:

impulsions which are initially incestuous or homosexual may become inhibited in ways which result in their redirection and ultimate overt expression as difficulties of adjustment to friends and relatives.

Table 37

Card 2: Question 1: *"Do you (and your children, if you have any) live by yourselves, or does some member of your family (or your spouse's) live with you?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No, they have always lived by themselves	61	56
2. One or more relatives formerly lived with them	16	18
3. Relatives pay them occasional, more or less extensive visits	0	3
4. Relatives live with them during summer vacations	2	4
5. Some other person lives with them intermittently	3	5
6. Some other person lives with them now	18	14
Total	100	100

Table 38

Card 2: Question 2: *"If a relative of either you or your (spouse) lives with you, who is it, and how long has that person lived with you?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Husband's mother	12	11
2. Wife's mother	17	15
3. Husband's father	7	9
4. Wife's father	7	7
5. Husband's sister	4	6
6. Wife's sister	9	5
7. Husband's brother	1	4
8. Wife's brother	0	2
9. Husband's aunt	0	1
10. Wife's aunt	1	1

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
11. Husband's child or children by former marriage	1	1
12. Wife's child or children by former marriage	1	1
13. Husband's niece or nephew	1	2
14. Wife's niece or nephew	2	0
15. Wife's cousin	1	0
16. A woman friend	0	2
17. Wife's old family servant	0	1
18. A roomer	2	2
19. "Relatives" (not further specified)	1	0
20. Question inapplicable—they have always lived by themselves	61	56
Total *	148	126

Duration of Visits of Such Persons †

1. Two years or longer	15	11
2. One year or more, but less than 2 years	2	4
3. Several months, but less than 1 year	8	15
4. The guest is living with them now (total duration not given)	5	10
5. Only short visits from time to time	9	4
6. Question inapplicable—they have always lived by themselves	61	56
Total	100	100

Table 39 *

Card 2: Question 3: *"If there is a relative living with you, is his or her presence a source of irritation to either you or your (spouse)?"*

* The excess of totals over 100 is due to the fact that visits from more than one relative were mentioned by some of the subjects.

† Several of the subjects had had more or less prolonged visits from more than a single relative, and in answering the second part of the above question failed to specify for which one the duration of the visit was given.

* The figures in *Table 39* are inconsistent with those in *Tables 37* and *38*, but they follow the records. The three questions just listed at the head of the Tables were indiscriminately answered for both past and present visitations of relatives, and elicited many recitals of grievances against "in-laws." The answers were very difficult to tabulate.

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
1. Husband's mother a source of irritation	6	4
2. Wife's mother a source of irritation	10	8
3. Husband's father a source of irritation	2	1
4. Wife's father a source of irritation	3	3
5. Husband's sister a source of irritation	0	4
6. Wife's sister a source of irritation	5	5
7. Husband's brother a source of irritation	0	1
8. Wife's brother a source of irritation	2	0
9. Husband's family (not more definitely specified) a source of irritation	2	4
10. Wife's family (not more definitely specified) a source of irritation	2	2
11. Wife's aunt a source of irritation	1	1
12. Wife's child or children by former marriage a source of irritation	1	1
13. Husband's niece or nephew a source of irritation	1	2
14. Wife's niece or nephew a source of irritation	1	0
15. Husband's girl cousin a source of jealousy to his wife	1	0
16. Question inapplicable—they have always lived by themselves	61	56
Total	98	92

Table 40

Card 2: Question 4: (*For Women*) *"Do any of your relatives cause trouble between you and your husband?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
1. Yes, her mother		2
2. Yes, her family		1
3. Yes, her sister		2
4. Yes, her brother		4
5. Yes, her sons by a former marriage		1
6. Yes (not specified more definitely)		1
7. No (qualified negative)		4
8. "No"		87
Total		102

(*13* women gave the above *15* affirmative and qualified negative answers)

(*For Men*) "*Do any of your relatives cause trouble between you and your wife?*"

1. Yes, his mother	14
2. Yes, his father	1
3. Yes, his parents	1
4. Yes, his family	7
5. Yes, his sister	1
6. Yes, his brother	1
7. No (qualified negative)	15
8. "No"	62
Total	102

(*38* men gave the above *40* affirmative and qualified negative answers)

Table 41

Card 2: Question 5: (*For Women*) "*Do any of your husband's relatives cause trouble between you and your husband?*"

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Yes, his mother		8
2. Yes, his father		1
3. Yes, his family		10
4. Yes, his sister (or sisters)		2
5. Yes, his brother		1
6. Yes (not specified more definitely)		1
7. Is uncertain as to whether they do or not		1
8. No (qualified negative)		1
9. "No"		75
Total		100

(*For Men*) "*Do any of your wife's relatives cause trouble between you and your wife?*"

1. Yes, her mother	12
2. Yes, her parents	1
3. Yes, her family	2
4. Yes, her sister	4
5. Yes, her brother	3
6. No (qualified negative)	7
7. "No"	72
Total	101

(*28* men gave the above *29* affirmative and qualified negative answers)

Table 42

Card 2: Question 6: (*For Women*) *"Do any of your relatives disapprove of your husband on any ground?"*

(Wives' relatives who disapprove of their husbands)

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Women*
1. Her mother disapproves of subject's husband	7
2. Her father disapproves of subject's husband	1
3. Her parents disapprove of subject's husband	4
4. Her family disapprove of subject's husband	10
5. Her sister disapproves of subject's husband	4
6. Her brother disapproves of subject's husband	2
7. Her brother-in-law disapproves of subject's husband	1
8. Her aunt disapproves of subject's husband	1
9. Her uncle disapproves of subject's husband	1
10. Yes (not more definitely specified)	4
11. No (qualified negative)	3
12. "No"	62
Total	100

(*For Men*) *"Do any of your relatives disapprove of your wife on any grounds?"*

(Husbands' relatives who disapprove of their wives)

1. His mother disapproves of subject's wife	16
2. His father disapproves of subject's wife	4
3. His parents disapprove of subject's wife	1
4. His sister disapproves of subject's wife	13
5. His brother disapproves of subject's wife	6
6. His sister-in-law disapproves of subject's wife	1
7. Yes (not more definitely specified)	6
8. No (qualified negative)	4
9. "No"	59
Total	110

(*41* men gave the above *51* affirmative and qualified negative answers)

Grounds upon Which Wives' Relatives Base Disapproval of Their Husbands (Women's Answers)

1. He left her	1
2. His economic insufficiency	9
3. His interest in young girls	1
4. He is a Gentile	1
5. He is a Jew	3
6. He is too sensitive	1
7. Her sister doesn't like him	1
8. He is not progressive	1
9. He is a boaster	1
10. He is tactless	1
11. He and the subject lead a dull life	1
12. He tried to show off	1
13. He didn't keep a servant for her	1
14. His social inferiority	2
15. His homosexuality	1
16. His coldness to her (the subject)	1
17. His disagreeable disposition	1
18. His drinking	1
19. "His personality"	1
20. He is too critical	1
21. He expects too much of her	1
22. He doesn't respect her intellect	1
23. His attitude toward the children is displeasing	1
24. He is a pacifist	1
25. Her mother disapproves of him because she is now less dependent on her mother	1
26. Grounds of disapproval not given	2
27. Inapplicable—no relatives disapprove of subjects' husbands	62
Total	100

Grounds upon Which Husbands' Relatives Base Disapproval of Their Wives (Men's Answers)

1. Her economic insufficiency (extravagance, etc.)	3
2. Her flirting	1
3. Her sexual immorality	2
4. She is Irish	1

5. She is a Gentile	1
6. She is not German	2
7. Her social inadequacy	2
8. She is not "dressy" enough	1
9. They are not quite satisfied with her	1
10. She is queer	1
11. She hasn't good judgment	1
12. She is impulsive	1
13. She is selfish	1
14. She is self-centered	1
15. She is hard	2
16. Her character is unsatisfactory	1
17. Her treatment of him	2
18. She is not suited to him	3
19. They feel that she doesn't make him happy	1
20. They fear that marriage hampers his career	1
21. Her inadequacy as a housekeeper	2
22. Her method of disciplining the children	1
23. She has no children	1
24. She is physically too small	1
25. She is too inquisitive	1
26. Her smoking	2
27. She uses rouge	1
28. Her radical theories	2
29. She doesn't appreciate them	1
30. They are jealous of her	4
31. She is the subject's cousin	1
32. Grounds of disapproval not given	5
33. Inapplicable—no relatives disapprove of subjects' wives	59
Total	110

(*41* men gave the above *51* reasons for disapproval)

Card 2: Question 7: *"Do any of your (spouse's) relatives disapprove of you on any grounds?"*

The answers to this question do not sufficiently differ from the answers to *Question 6* listed above in *Table 41* to justify their inclusion.

Table 43

Card 2: Question 8: *"If you have children, do you and your (spouse) have serious difficulties as to their management, the cost of their clothing, amusement, etc., and their religious training?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. They have no children	28	25
2. "No"	43	39
3. They have some difficulties (not further specified) but no serious trouble	8	5
4. Some difficulties as to clothing, but no serious trouble	0	1
5. Some difficulties as to management, but no serious trouble	4	2
6. They formerly had difficulties, but do not now (nature of difficulties not specified)	0	1
7. "Yes," as to clothing	3	4
8. "Yes," as to management	15	20
9. "Yes," because of her mismanagement of the children	2	0
10. "Yes," because of his impatience with their little boy	0	1
11. "Yes," because of his deficient love for the baby	0	1
12. "Yes," as to religious training	2	3
13. "Yes," nature of their difficulties not specified	0	2
Total	105	104

A net total of 17 men and 36 women is represented in entries 7 to 13 inclusive in the above table.

Table 44

Card 2: Question 9: (*For Women*) *"Has your husband any friendships with women to whom you object?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Women*
1. "No"	76
2. She is uncertain about it	1
3. Yes, formerly, but not now	3
4. She doesn't object to his women friends, but she can't control her jealousy	1
5. No, but she dislikes some of his former lovers	1
6. "Yes"	18
Total	100

(*For Men*) *"Has your wife any friendships with men to whom you object?"*

	Men
1. "No"	76
2. "No," with reservations	6
3. Yes, formerly, but not now	5
4. "Yes"	13
Total	100

Table 45

Card 2: Question 10: (*For Women*) *"Has he any friendships with men to whom you object?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Women*
1. "No"	73
2. "No," with reservations	9
3. He did have, but hasn't now	3
4. "Yes"	15
Total	100

(*For Men*) "*Has she any friendships with women to whom you object?*"

1. "No"	69
2. "No," with reservations	7
3. "Yes"	23
4. Subject failed to answer the question	1
Total	100

(In answering the above question 7 women stated that they were jealous of their husbands' men friends, and 4 men stated that they were jealous of their wives' women friends.)

Table 46

Card 2: Question 11: (*For Women*) "*Have you any friendships with women to whom he objects?*"

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "No"		66
2. "No," with reservations		19
3. She did have, but hasn't now		1
4. "Yes"		14
Total		100

(*For Men*) "*Have you any friendships with men to whom she objects?*"

1. "No"	65
2. "No," with reservations	16
3. "Yes"	19
Total	100

Table 47

Card 2: Question 12: (*For Women*) *"Have you any friendships with men to whom he objects?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "No"		77
2. "No," with reservations		5
3. She did have, but hasn't now		8
4. "Yes"		10
Total		100

(*For Men*) *"Have you any friendships with women to whom she objects?"*

1. "No"	63
2. "No," with reservations	5
3. He did have, but hasn't now	2
4. "Yes"	30
Total	100

The answers to *Card 2, Questions 13, 14,* and *15* are given in Chapter III.

Table 48

Card 2: Question 16: *"Is there any friction between you on account of religion?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "No"	71	71
2. "No, neither of us has any religion"	9	7
3. "No," with reservations	11	13
4. There was formerly, but there is no friction now	2	5
5. "Yes"	7	4
Total	100	100

II

The answers to all of the questions on *Card 3* excepting parts *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d* of the third question are listed in Chapter III.

Table 49

Card 3: Question 3: *"Do you wish to go on living with your (spouse) for any of the following reasons:*

(a) "Because there are children?"

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. They have no children	28	25
2. Uncertain	4	1
3. "No"	6	17
4. "Yes"	62	53
5. Subject wishes to go on living with husband only because she loves him	0	3
6. Question unanswered	0	1
Total	100	100

(b) "Because your (spouse) would be unhappy without you?"

1. "Don't know"	7	8
2. He would not be unhappy without her	0	1
3. "No"	23	32
4. "Yes"	70	56
5. Subject wishes to go on living with husband only because she loves him	0	3
Total	100	100

(c) "Because separation or divorce is against your principles?"

1. Uncertain on this point	3	4
2. "No"	86	86
3. "Yes"	11	10
Total	100	100

(*d*) *"Because divorce or separation would injure your business or social standing?"*

1. Uncertain on this point	8	3
2. "No"	82	86
3. "Yes"	10	10
4. Subject failed to answer the question	0	1
Total	100	100

III

The foregoing tables tend to support the traditional belief that visiting mothers-in-law are likely to be flies in the spousal ointment. They also suggest that sisters-in-law can be undesirable guests. 23 mothers of husbands and 32 mothers of wives appear in the tables as having paid more or less extensive visits to the persons of my research. The corresponding figures for the fathers are 16 and 14. 10 husbands' sisters and 14 wives' sisters belong in this list. Brothers do not appear in the tables in sufficient numbers to repay further consideration of them, although it is shown in *Table 40* that they can make trouble for their married brothers and sisters even when they don't visit them.

The extent to which visiting relatives can be a source of irritation to spouses is suggested by the figures in the tables, which show, among other things, that the visiting mothers of 10 husbands and of 18 wives stand thus accused. Only 3 fathers of husbands and 6 fathers of wives had proved to be a source of irritation to their hosts, but 10 sisters of wives and 4 sisters of husbands had better have made their visits shorter. A hundred years or so from now, when, I hope, such data will have an historical value, the complete record-narratives of the 200 persons of my research will be available for publication. It is to be regretted that this cannot be done now, when there is a real need of giving to the mothers of married sons and daugh-

ters a realizing sense of how stupid and selfish it is to defer the psychological weaning of their offspring until it is automatically effected by death or extreme old age.

In *Table 40,* 14 of the men are listed as saying that their own mothers make trouble between them and their wives, and, in *Table 41,* 12 men are found to have complained that their mothers-in-law are offenders in this way. In *Table 42* we find that 16 of the men state that their mothers disapprove of their wives whilst 7 of the women state that their husbands have met their (the women's) mothers' disapproval on one ground or another. Thirteen of the men also tell us that their sisters disapprove of their wives.

It would be interesting to study the trouble-making and disapproving mothers and sisters by a method which would yield reliable data as to their own sex lives. My clinical work has given me a quite definite impression that a woman who is incapable of experiencing the orgasm in the sex act, or who by reason of moral scruples, spinsterhood, widowhood, or other obstacles is unable to have this experience with reasonable frequency, is especially apt to resent sharing the affection of her son or brother with an outside female. I have also an impression that a sexually inadequate woman is especially fertile-minded in discovering faults in her daughter-in-law or sister-in-law. It would be among these sexually inadequate ones that I should also expect to find the greater number of women who do not like to surrender their daughters and sisters to spousal lovers. Such impressions are common enough among psychiatrists, but they are still in need of examination by careful methods of research.

CHAPTER VI

Conception, Contraception, and Motherhood

I

Opposition to birth control involving the assumption that it is in violation of religious principles which the state ought to enforce is still the greatest obstacle in the way of solving one of the major problems of married life. No really satisfactory method of preventing pregnancy has ever been perfected, largely because experimentation cannot be carried on openly and on an adequately extensive scale without running counter to laws which only need to be invoked by unsympathetic persons to cause trouble for the experimenter. When we consider that the 200 spouses of my research are, as a group, much more sophisticated in all such matters than are the vast majority of Americans, their difficulties with the birth control problem obtain a special significance. The findings in the following tables tell their own story, and will require but little discussion to bring out their more important points.

The answers to the question on *Special Card No. 1* are presented out of order here in order to exemplify a point which is closely related to the birth control problem. There are persons who honestly believe that sex intercourse for purposes not explicitly related to reproduction is at best a concession to human weakness, and that indulgence in it during pregnancy is both shameful and physically unwise. I regret to say that even physicians not infrequently advise against it in cases where there is no ground for fearing unfavorable effects. It has been empirically established by spouses everywhere that sex inter-

course during pregnancy is a harmless procedure—excepting, of course, deterring conditions which can be easily detected by a competent obstetrician. As soon as a woman becomes pregnant she ought to consult the physician whom she expects to employ at the time of her delivery, and to ask him if she happens to be one of the exceptional cases whose sex life during pregnancy must be governed by considerations other than those that are defined for her by her own comfort and desire.

One hears now and then a statement to the effect that, since all female animals discontinue sex intercourse as soon as they are pregnant and do not resume it until they have borne their young and are ready to conceive again, it is unnatural for a pregnant woman to have sex intercourse. Such statements are made in ignorance of the actual facts of the sex lives of animals. To the best of my knowledge, all female mammals below the primate level are continent during pregnancy, but all members of the primate order (which includes monkeys, baboons, apes, and man) tend to have sex intercourse until within a few weeks or even days of parturition unless they are prevented from doing so by cages, or (in the case of man) tuitional impositions. The female monkey continues to copulate until the very end of pregnancy. It is not, perhaps, a too arbitrary or too mystical thing to say that among primates, including man, sex intercourse has a social as well as a physical value in that it is an important factor in effecting desirable family and tribal integrations. Perhaps the only generalization as to its physical value which is demonstrably true of all known primates is the familiar one that it offers an adequate release of periodically recurring tensions.

II

Table 50

Card 4: Question 1: (*For Women*) "*Have you ever been pregnant?*" (*For Men*) "*Has your wife ever been pregnant?*"

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "No"	19	18
2. Doubtful if she was ever pregnant	2	0
3. Pregnant once	23	24
4. Pregnant twice	22	16
5. Pregnant 3 times	11	19
6. Pregnant 3 or possibly 4 times	0	1
7. Pregnant 3 or possibly 5 times	1	0
8. Pregnant 4 times	10	10
9. Pregnant 5 times	2	4
10. Pregnant 5 or possibly 6 times	1	0
11. Pregnant 6 times	0	6
12. Pregnant 7 or possibly 8 times	0	1
13. Pregnant 9 times	0	1
14. Pregnant several times—don't know how often	9	0
Total	100	100

Table 51

Card 4: Question 2: "*What do you do to prevent pregnancy?*" *

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "Nothing"	8	13
2. Contraceptives are used	92	87
Total	100	100

* The spouses gave in detail exactly what was done to prevent pregnancy, but it would be illegal to publish this material.

Table 52

Card 4: Question 3: *"Do you both feel that the things you do to prevent pregnancy are safe?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "No"	10	16
2. Has some anxiety about it	2	3
3. Is uncertain as to whether contraceptive measures used are reliable or not	7	5
4. Feels that there is some degree of safety in the contraceptive methods used	13	12
5. "Yes," with reservations	10	1
6. "Yes"	50	50
7. No contraceptives used (on account of sterility or a desire for children)	8	13
Total	100	100

Table 53

Card 4: Question 4: *"Have you always had a safe way of preventing pregnancy?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "No"	39	39
2. Is uncertain about it	11	10
3. Feels that there has always been some degree of safety in contraceptive methods used	5	4
4. "Yes," with reservations	11	4
5. "Yes"	31	37
6. No contraceptives were ever used (on account of the wife's sterility)	3	6
Total	100	100

Table 54

Card 4: Question 5: *"Do the measures that you take to prevent pregnancy interfere with your pleasure or your (spouse's)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "No" (unqualified negative)	22	31
2. "Yes" (unqualified affirmative)	23	20
3. "Yes" for the husband, "No" for the wife	1	6
4. "Yes" for the wife, "No" for the husband	1	3
5. "Yes" for the husband, not specified as to the wife	14	5
6. "Yes" for the wife, not specified as to the husband	3	3
7. "Yes" for both spouses (so specified)	10	7
8. "Yes," with reservations (whose pleasure is impaired, not specified)	6	1
9. "No," with reservations (whose pleasure referred to, not specified)	12	3
10. Inconclusive answers	0	8
11. No contraceptives used (on account of sterility or a desire for children)	8	13
Total	100	100

Table 55

Card 4: Question 6: *"Is there any friction between you as to what should be done about preventing pregnancy?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "No"	83	89
2. "No," with reservations	6	1
3. There was formerly but is none now	2	1
4. "Yes"	7	7
5. Inconclusive answers	2	2
Total	100	100

Table 56

Card 4: Question 7: *"Does fear of pregnancy interfere with your (spouse's) pleasure in the sex act?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "No"	67	67
2. "No," with reservations	6	3
3. It did formerly but doesn't now	12	9
4. "Yes"	14	17
5. Inconclusive answers	1	4
Total	100	100

Table 57

Card 4: Question 8: *"Does fear of pregnancy interfere with your own pleasure in the sex act?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "No"	66	63
2. "No," with reservations	4	0
3. It did formerly but doesn't now	4	10
4. "Yes"	25	23
5. She finds no pleasure in the sex act under any conditions	0	2
6. Inconclusive answers	1	2
Total	100	100

Table 58

Card 4: Question 9: *"Do you wish to have children?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "No"	14	4
2. "No," with reservations	6	0
3. Doesn't wish to have any more than they have now	15	18
4. Is uncertain about it	3	4
5. "Yes"	37	55
6. "Yes," with reservations	8	9
7. "Yes, not now but later"	8	2
8. Formerly desired children but doesn't now	7	7
9. The wife is past the menopause or has been sterilized	1	1
10. Is indifferent about it	1	0
Total	100	100

Table 59

Card 4: Question 10: *"Does your (spouse) wish to have children?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "No"	10	18
2. "No," with reservations	2	3
3. Doesn't wish to have any more than they have now	11	21
4. Is uncertain about it	2	4
5. "Yes"	46	43
6. "Yes," with reservations	12	4
7. Formerly desired children but doesn't now	10	4
8. The wife is past the menopause or has been sterilized	1	1
9. Is indifferent about it	0	2
10. "Yes, not now, but later"	6	0
Total	100	100

Table 60

Card 4: Question 11: *"Is there now or has there ever been any friction between you in the matter of having children?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "No"	72	78
2. "No," with reservations	10	6
3. "Nothing serious"	3	1
4. There was formerly but is none now	5	6
5. "Yes"	7	9
6. "Yes," with reservations	2	0
7. Question unanswered	1	0
Total	100	100

III

The questions on *Special Card No. 1,* answers to which are listed here, were used for the examination of the women only. Since they did not apply to the 18 women who had never been pregnant and to the 1 woman whose 5 illicit pregnancies were not permitted to go beyond the second month, *all the findings in the remaining tables of this chapter represent the answers of only 81 women.*

Table 61

Special Card No. 1: Question 1: *"Did pregnancy bring about any change in your feeling toward your husband? If so, what was the change?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. "No"	31
2. Increased sex desire	5
3. Decreased sex desire	5
4. "Felt closer to him;" "Loved him more;" "Felt more dependent on him;" etc.	23
5. "Loved him less;" "Impatient with him;" "Felt an impairment of former pleasant relations with him;" etc.	12
6. Ceased to be jealous of his former love affairs	1
7. Developed jealousy reactions toward a woman with whom he had a long-standing friendship	1
8. It gave her a grown-up feeling toward him	1
9. "Don't know;" "Can't remember;" etc	2
Total	81

Table 62

Special Card No. 1: Question 2: *"Did any change which occurred in your feeling toward him during pregnancy continue after pregnancy was over? If so, how long did this change of feeling last?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. Question inapplicable (no change took place)	31
2. The change of feeling did not continue after pregnancy was over	22
3. The feeling of strangeness toward him quickly wore off	1
4. The feeling of greater closeness to him lasted 6 weeks after pregnancy was over	1
5. The decreased sex desire continued several months after pregnancy was over	1
6. The feeling of greater closeness to him continued until she was too harassed by the care of the children to retain it	1
7. The feeling of impatience with him came back spasmodically for a long time after pregnancy was over	1
8. The decreased sex desire continued, but she does not remember how long	1
9. The feeling of greater closeness to him continued until he repudiated her, long after pregnancy	1
10. The feeling of greater closeness to him continued (how long, not specified)	2
11. The impairment of her affection for him continued (how long, not specified)	1
12. The decreased sex desire continued (how long, not specified)	2
13. Cessation of her jealousy reactions continued (how long, not specified)	1
14. Her grown-up feeling toward him continued (how long, not specified)	1
15. The feeling of greater closeness to him persists	5
16. The impairment of her affection for him persists	3
17. The increased sex desire persists	2
18. The jealousy reaction persists	1
19. Inconclusive answers	3
Total	81

Table 63

Special Card No. 1: Question 3: *"Did you feel cross toward your husband because he caused you to be pregnant? Do you still resent the fact that he made you pregnant?"*

(Answers for the period of pregnancy)

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. "No"	70
2. "No," with reservations	1
3. "Yes"	6
4. "Yes" for the first pregnancy	1
5. "Yes" for the second pregnancy	2
6. Felt both cross and gratified	1
Total	81

(Answers for the present time)

1 "No"	75
2. "No," with reservations	1
3. "Yes"	2
4. "Yes" for the first pregnancy	1
5. "Yes" for the second pregnancy	1
6. Still feels both cross and gratified	1
Total	81

Table 64

Special Card No. 1: Question 4: *"Did you and your husband indulge in sex intercourse during pregnancy?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. "No"	5
2. "Yes" for the first pregnancy, "No" for the second	1
3. "Yes"	75
Total	81

Table 65

Special Card No. 1: Question 5: *"If so, during what period? How frequently? As frequently as during the time you were not pregnant?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. They did not indulge in sex intercourse during pregnancy	5
2. Indulged in sex intercourse throughout pregnancy	19
3. Indulged in sex intercourse until a month or two before the child was born	7
4. Indulged in sex intercourse until two or three months before the child was born	1
5. "Until it was too late to be possible;" "Until I was too large"	2
6. Did not indulge in sex intercourse after the first six months of pregnancy	22
7. "Don't know;" "Don't remember;" etc.	25
Total	81

(How frequently?)

1. Did not indulge in sex intercourse during pregnancy	5
2. "Very frequently"	1
3. "Frequently"	4
4. As frequently as before pregnancy or more frequently	27
5. More often than once weekly	5
6. Weekly—variable	2
7. Less frequently than usual until after nausea period was over	1
8. Less frequently than usual	15
9. Very infrequently	13
10. "Don't know;" "Don't remember," etc.	8
Total	81

Table 66

Special Card No. 1: Question 6: *"What effect, if any, did pregnancy have on your sex desire? Did it increase it or decrease it?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. Pregnancy very greatly decreased sex desire	1
2. Pregnancy decreased sex desire	17
3. Sex desire decreased as she got bigger in pregnancy	1
4. Sex desire decreased the first 3 months and toward end of pregnancy	1
5. Sex desire decreased during first pregnancy and increased during second pregnancy	2
6. Sex desire decreased during second pregnancy and increased during first pregnancy	1
7. Pregnancy greatly increased sex desire	2
8. Pregnancy increased sex desire	8
9. Sex desire increased during early part of pregnancy, then decreased	8
10. Sex desire increased during the middle period	2
11. Sex desire increased toward the end of pregnancy	1
12. Sex desire increased during second pregnancy, but has no memory on this point for first pregnancy	1
13. During the first and second pregnancies she had not yet been sexually awakened, but sex desire was very strong during third pregnancy	1
14. There was a variable increase and decrease of sex desire during pregnancy	1
15. Pregnancy did not essentially affect sex desire	28
16. "Don't know;" "Don't remember;" etc.	6
Total	81

Special Card No. 1: Question 7: *"Was this true of the whole period? If not, during what period of pregnancy was your sex desire more or less?"*

The answers to this question are listed with the answers to *Question 6* in *Table 66.*

Table 67

Special Card No. 1: Question 8: *"Was sex intercourse during pregnancy agreeable or repulsive to you?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. Agreeable	34
2. Agreeable until toward the end	3
3. Agreeable until the seventh month	1
4. Agreeable until the fourth month	1
5. Agreeable in the second pregnancy	1
6. Agreeable, but she was apprehensive lest injury result	1
7. Agreeable, but she was never satisfied	1
8. Agreeable, but she had a feeling that it was unaesthetic	1
9. Agreeable the first period, disagreeable later	3
10. Agreeable the middle period, disagreeable later	1
11. "It was not repulsive"	6
12. She was indifferent—it was neither agreeable nor disagreeable	4
13. "There was no change"	1
14. Fear of injury predominated	1
15. Feeling that it was morally wrong predominated	1
16. It was more or less disagreeable	4
17. It was more or less repulsive	8
18. No sex intercourse during pregnancy	5
19. "Don't know;" "Don't remember;" etc.	4
Total	81

Special Card No. 1: Question 9: *"Was this true of the whole period or of only a part of it?"*

This question, which refers to *Question 8*, elicited no answers which add anything of value to those listed in *Table 67*.

Table 68

Special Card No. 1: Question 10: *"Did sex intercourse during pregnancy seem to be harmful or disagreeable to you in any way? If so, how?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. "No"	47
2. "No," but assumed that it was harmful to have sex intercourse during pregnancy	1
3. "No," but she thought it was morally wrong	1
4. "No," after she was reassured by a physician as to its harmlessness	1
5. "Not harmful, but disagreeable at times"	7
6. "Yes," it caused nausea	2
7. "Yes," it was physically uncomfortable	5
8. It caused her to bleed, and made her fearful of miscarriage	2
9. It gave her a choking sensation	1
10. It made her afraid	3
11. Toward the end it made her feel queer	1
12. It made her very tired	1
13. "Don't know;" "Don't remember;" etc.	3
14. Had no sex intercourse after the second month	1
15. Had no sex intercourse during pregnancy	5
Total	81

Table 69

Special Card No. 1: Question 11: *"If you ceased having sex intercourse during pregnancy for any reason, did you miss it and feel a desire to have intercourse?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. Didn't cease having sex intercourse	45
2. "Yes"	5
3. "No"	25
4. Inconclusive answers	6
Total	81

Table 70

Special Card No. 1: Question 12: *"Did you and your husband adopt some substitute for sex intercourse during pregnancy? If so, please state what this substitute was."*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. No substitute was adopted	66
2. Mutual masturbation	5
3. She masturbated her husband	5
4. He satisfied himself by pressing his sex organ against her legs or other parts of her body	3
5. He used the rear position in having sex intercourse with her	1
6. He went out and got syphilis from a prostitute	1
Total	81

Table 71

Special Card No. 1: Question 13: *"Does your experience lead you to believe that it is wise for married people to have sex intercourse during pregnancy?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. "Yes"	35
2. "Yes," qualified with reference to the need of being careful, not continuing it too late in pregnancy, etc.	20
3. It must be governed by the wife's desire, by her health and other special circumstances	6
4. "It is wise for the man"	1
5. "Only slight intercourse is permissible during pregnancy"	1
6. "Not sure—read a book against it"	1
7. She thought that it was wise until she read that it is harmful	1
8. Her physician says that it is very dangerous during the last months of pregnancy	1
9. It doesn't seem to be a natural thing to do	1
10. Has had no experience, but thinks it would be unwise	1
11. "It is detrimental to the foetus"	1
12. It is unideal	1
13. It is unaesthetic	1
14. Inconclusive answers	10
Total	81

Table 72

Special Card No. 1: Question 14: *"Have you ever had an abortion performed? If so, how many times?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. "No"	58
2. "No, but took medicine once at 6 weeks"	1
3. Took medicine to relieve a possible pregnancy	1
4. Has had one abortion performed	12
5. Has had one and possibly two abortions performed	1
6. Has had two abortions performed	6
7. Has had three abortions performed	1
8. Has had abortions performed "many times"	1
Total	81

Table 73

Special Card No. 1: Question 15: *"Why did you have it (the abortion) done? How was it done?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. Never had an abortion performed	58
2. The pregnancy was illicit	7
3. Economic difficulties in the way of having more children	4
4. The pregnancy interfered with her vocation	1
5. She wanted to break with her husband	1
6. She didn't wish to have children—or more children	4
7. It was war-time	1
8. Her husband had syphilis	1
9. Her health required the pregnancy to be discontinued	8
Total	85

(The total of 85 entries instead of the expected 81 is due to the circumstance that 3 of the women who had had illicit pregnancies terminated by abortions had also found it expedient to have marital pregnancies aborted; and that a fourth of the 81 women who had been pregnant resorted to abortion for two of the reasons listed in the table.)

"How was it (the abortion) done?" *

1. By physicians	19
2. By methods which the women employed themselves	4
3. Never had an abortion deliberately induced	58
Total	81

IV

(1) 6 of the 100 women were sterile.

(2) 87 of them used contraceptives. 74.11 percent of the 985 married women who answered Dr. Davis' † question on this point stated that they used contraceptives.

(3) 21 of the 100 women of my studies had had abortions performed and an additional 2 had taken drugs to induce menstruation without knowing certainly whether they were pregnant or not. 93, or 9.3 percent, of the 1,000 married women who answered Dr. Davis' questionnaire answered affirmatively the question, "Have you ever had an artificial abortion performed?" *Table 73* shows that 15 of the women of my studies had resorted to abortion for reasons which are not recognized as legal anywhere in the United States. 19 of the women had had abortions performed for them by physicians.

(4) 75 of the 100 women had borne a total of 161 children.

(5) 82 of the women had been pregnant a total of 228 times.

(6) This leaves 67 unproductive pregnancies to be accounted for. *Table 72* shows that at least 30 but not more than 35 pregnancies were deliberately terminated. The remainder of the 67 pregnancies which did not lead to the birth of children were terminated by illness, accident and similar causes which are not of specific interest to us here.

* A more detailed account of this part of the question cannot be legally published.

† Davis, Katharine Bement: A Study of the Sex Life of the Normal Married Woman. The Journal of Social Hygiene, Vol. VIII, No. 2, April 1922, pp. 173–189.

(7) 50, or approximately 57 percent, of the 87 women who admitted the use of contraceptives stated that they regarded their present methods as safe, but only 31, or approximately 36 percent, of the 87 stated without qualification that the methods used did not interfere with the pleasure of either spouse.

(8) The tables which list the answers to the *Special Card No. 1* questions refer to the 81 women who have histories of marital pregnancy. 76, or 94 percent, of these women had indulged in sex intercourse during at least one pregnancy, and of these 76, 47 (approximately 62 percent) stated without qualification that such intercourse had not been harmful or disagreeable to them in any way.

(9) 28 of the 81 women stated that pregnancy did not affect their sex desire; 25 experienced increased sex desire during one phase or another of at least one pregnancy; 1 had a variable increase and decrease of desire, and 1 stated that it was "very strong" without telling us whether or not this represented an increase over non-pregnant periods.

CHAPTER VII

Some Questions for Women Only

I

Since the questions on *Cards 5, 6,* and *7* refer to the menstrual history, pelvic operations and early marital sex experiences of women, no corresponding questions were asked the men.

Table 74

Card 5: Question 1: *"What, if any, pelvic operations have you had performed?"* **Question 2:** *"What was done by the surgeon when he operated on you?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. Ventral suspension of uterus	8
2. Shortening of uterine round ligaments	5
3. Removal of uterus	3
4. Amputation of uterine cervix	1
5. Removal of tubes leading from ovaries to uterus	1
6. Tying off these tubes to produce sterility	1
7. Removal of uterine tumors (fibroids)	7
8. Cauterizing uterine ends of tubes to produce sterility (operation unsuccessful, the woman having conceived afterward)	1
9. Caesarian section (opening abdomen and uterus to remove a living child which could not be born through the normal outlet)	1
10. Repairs of tears in perineum, vaginal walls, and uterine cervix sustained during childbirth	9
11. Dilatation of vaginal sphincter	2
12. Curettage (scraping inside of uterus)	19
13. Unknown vaginal operation in childhood	1
14. X-ray sterilization by use of X-rays over region of ovaries	1
15. Radium treatment for fibroids	2
16. Never had a pelvic operation or any of the above listed non-operative treatments	54
Total	116

(Duplicate entries for women who had had more than one of the above described operations or kinds of treatment account for the excess of the total over the expected 100.)

Table 75

Card 5: Question 3: *"Did any of these operations affect your sex desire?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. "Such operations (cauterizing inner ends of tubes) kill all sex desire"	1
2. Operation for removing tubes made sex act repulsive	1
3. Had no desire for a month after operation for shortening uterine round ligaments	1
4. Had no desire for a short time after curettage	1
5. Sex desire returned within 3 weeks after operation for shortening round ligaments	1
6. Inconclusive answers	2
7. "No"	36
8. No, was more normal after ventral suspension of uterus	1
9. Sterilization by tying off tubes removed her hatred of the sex act	1
10. Ventral suspension of uterus increased her sex desire	1
11. Never had such operations or treatments	54
Total	100

Table 76

Card 5: Question 4: *"Do you menstruate regularly?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. "Yes"	74
2. Yes, but it comes too early if she is nervous	1
3. Yes, unless she is over-tired	1
4. Yes, now, but not so formerly	1
5. Yes, now; was irregular until marriage	1
6. Yes, now; was irregular until first pregnancy	1
7. Yes, now; had no menstruation for several years while suffering from pituitary tumor	1

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
8. Yes, usually—is fairly regular, etc.		4
9. Was regular until recently		1
10. Was regular until she was sterilized		4
11. Her menstruation is irregular		9
12. Her menstruation is irregular in the direction of too great frequency		1
13. Her menstruation is irregular; 1 to 10 days late		1
Total		100

Table 77

Card 5: Question 5: *"How often do you menstruate?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. Every 28 days	47
2. Every 28 days until she was sterilized	3
3. Every 28 days until menopause	1
4. Every 28 days until inner ends of her tubes were cauterized	1
5. Every 28 days after she began taking thyroid and ovarian	1
6. Every 28 days: average or about	5
7. Every 28 days or earlier	3
8. Every 28 to 29 days	2
9. Every 28 to 30 days	1
10. Every 28 to 31 days	4
11. Every 29 days	2
12. Every 30 days	3
13. Every 30 to 35 days	2
14. Every 35 days	1
15. Every 28 to 38 days	1
16. Every 35 to 42 days	1
17. Every 14 to 23 days	1
18. Every 21 days	3
19. Every 21 to 28 days	1
20. Every 24 to 26 days	13
21. Every 14 to 49 days	1
22. Every 21 to 35 days	1
23. Very irregularly	1
24. Very irregularly until menopause	1
Total	100

Table 78

Card 5: Question 6: ***"How many days do you menstruate?"***

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. 5 days	19
2. 5 days now; formerly 7 days	1
3. 5 days now; early in menstruation, 10 days	1
4. 5 days; less if tired	1
5. 5 days until she was sterilized	1
6. 5 to 6 days	4
7. 5 to 6 days until menopause	1
8. 6 days	2
9. 5 to 7 days	6
10. 5 to 14 days	1
11. 7 days	2
12. 8 to 10 days	1
13. "Many days" (has passed menopause)	1
14. 5 to 6 days if active; otherwise 3 days	1
15. 1 day alternate months; 3 to 4 days alternate months	1
16. 2 days	5
17. 2 to 3 days	4
18. 2 to 4 days	1
19. 2 to 5 days	1
20. 3 days	9
21. 3 to 4 days	7
22. 3 to 5 days	3
23. 4 days	10
24. 4 days until sterilized	1
25. 4 to 5 days	13
26. 4 to 5 days until sterilized	1
27. 4 to 7 days	1
28. Questions not answered	1
Total	100

Table 79

Card 5: Question 7: *"Is your menstruation painful? If so, at what period?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. "No"	47
2. Not now; was formerly	6
3. Not very painful	10
4. Infrequently painful	6
5. At times painful; at times not painful	3
6. Formerly more painful than it is now	8
7. Yes, is more or less severely painful	4
8. Yes, has been painful for many years	1
9. Yes, at beginning of menstruation it is painful	11
10. Yes, pain extends beyond the first day	4
Total	100

Table 80

Card 5: Question 8: *"Are you likely to be depressed shortly before, during, or immediately following menstruation?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. "No"	18
2. Not now; was so formerly	3
3. Not particularly	1
4. No, but feels some physical let-down before menstruation	3
5. No, but feels nervous and irritable	1
6. Is usually more energetic at menstrual time, but occasionally feels fatigued	1
7. Yes, before menstruation	43
8. Yes, before menstruation; depression is marked	11
9. Yes, before and during menstruation	9
10. "I am sometimes depressed, sometimes elated before menstruation"	4
11. "Yes" (inconclusive as to period of depression)	1
12. "Don't know;" "Don't remember," and other inconclusive answers	5
Total	100

Table 81

Card 5: Question 9: *"Was this (depression at menstrual period) more or less true of you before marriage than afterward?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. Menstrual depressions unaffected by marriage	33
2. Menstrual depressions were worse before marriage	12
3. Menstrual depressions have been worse since marriage	19
4. Subject considers that her menstrual depressions have been too slight to render this question applicable to her case	15
5. "Don't know;" "Don't remember," and other inconclusive answers	21
Total	100

Table 82

Card 5: Question 10: *"Do you feel more irritable than usual shortly before, during, or after menstruation?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. Feels more irritable than usual just before menstruation	43
2. Feels very marked irritability just before menstruation	5
3. Feels more irritable just before, then is elated	1
4. Feels more irritable just before unless she takes thyroid and ovarian	1
5. Feels more irritable the first day of menstruation	3
6. Feels more irritable before and during menstruation	6
7. Feels more irritable before and the first day of menstruation	2
8. Feels more irritable during menstruation	5
9. Has headaches just before menstruation; is uncertain whether this is accompanied by irritability or not	1
10. "Yes;" period of increased irritability not specified	5
11. Is likely to feel irritable at any time of the month	1
12. "No"	22
13. "Don't know;" "Don't remember," and other inconclusive answers	5
Total	100

Table 83

Card 6: Question 1: *"Were you prepared by instruction for the experience of menstruation before you began to menstruate?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. "No"	31
2. No, but had inklings of it	4
3. No, but had heard about it from other children	10
4. No, but had been given unhealthy information by her nurse	1
5. No, but had read about it	2
6. Not until she had begun to menstruate	2
7. Yes, inadequately	12
8. "Yes"	36
9. "Don't remember"	2
Total	100

Table 84

Card 6: Question 2: *"If so, by whom?"* (*By whom instructed about menstruation.*)

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. Had no instruction or information	26
2. Other children	14
3. She overheard her mother and other girls talking about it	1
4. Her nurse told her about it in an unwholesome way	1
5. The landlady in the boarding house where she lived told her	1
6. Her stepmother told her after menstruation had started	1
7. Her mother told her after she had heard about it from other children	3
8. Her sister told her	2
9. She learned about it in books	3
10. Her grandmother told her	2
11. Her mother told her	43
12. "Don't know;" "Don't remember," and other inconclusive answers	3
Total	100

Table 85

Card 6: Question 3: *"At what age did you first menstruate?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. At 10½	1
2. At 11	9
3. At 11 to 12	2
4. At 12	19
5. At 12 to 13	4
6. At 13	21
7. At 13 to 14	6
8. At 14	20
9. At 14 to 15	1
10. At 15	7
11. At 15 to 16	1
12. At 16	6
13. At 16 to 17	2
14. At 18 to 19	1
Total	100

Table 86

Card 6: Question 4: *"What change, if any, took place in your sex feelings during the time of your first menstruation?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. Became more interested in boys	1
2. Began to notice her breasts and to have sensations in them	1
3. Began to be curious about sex matters	1
4. Experienced fear and a great wonder	1
5. Felt much more mature	1
6. Didn't want boys to see her while she was menstruating	1
7. Felt like staying away from both boys and girls	1
8. No change of sex feeling remembered	93
Total	100

Table 87

Card 6: Question 5: *"Did you ever have sex desire before you menstruated?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. "No"	72
2. "No," with reservations	1
3. A direct answer, "Yes," reversed by a later negative	2
4. "Yes, possibly"	2
5. Yes, vaguely	1
6. Yes, but not very much	1
7. Yes, she masturbated	4
8. Yes, wanted to be kissed and handled, and was curious about the male sex organ	1
9. "Yes"	7
10. "Uncertain;" "Don't know;" "Don't remember"	9
Total	100

Table 88

Card 6: Question 6: *"Describe as nearly as you can your thoughts and feelings when you first discovered that you were menstruating."*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. Felt it was a burden—a nuisance—an annoyance	13
2. Was unhappy because it interfered with her activities	3
3. Was chagrined	1
4. Felt resentment—anger	8
5. Felt self-pity	1
6. Was upset when it was explained to her	1
7. Felt that it was a calamity	1
8. Wept persistently	1
9. Felt disgust	8
10. Was perplexed—surprised—wondered what was the matter—thought that it was an accident or that she had injured herself	7
11. Wondered if her mother and the maid had done something in the night to make it come	1
12. Was focussed on the discomfort	5

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
13. Felt ashamed or embarrassed—wished to conceal it from mother		19
14. Was worried		1
15. Was much frightened		17
16. Was relieved to know that she was not pregnant by brother, who had committed sex aggression against her several years earlier		1
17. Was interested		3
18. Was thrilled—elated—excited—felt enthusiastic about it		15
19. Gratified that she could be a mother—that she was a normal woman		4
20. Felt grown-up—wanted a fuss made over it—felt superior to other girls—felt that she had caught up with sister—was proud		36
21. Was unaffected by it		12
22. "Don't know;" "Don't remember," and other inconclusive answers		6
Total*		164

Table 89

Card 6: Question 7: *"Was your health better or worse just after you began to have regular menstruations?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. Health was better after menstruation was established	12
2. Health was worse after menstruation was established	8
3. Had cramps a good deal	1
4. There was no change in health	70
5. "Don't know;" "Don't remember," and other inconclusive answers	9
Total	100

* The total number of entries in *Table 88* is 64 in excess of the expected 100 because many of the subjects' accounts of their reaction to the first menstruation fell under two or more of the above descriptive headings.

Table 90

Card 6: Question 8: *"Were your menstruations regular from the beginning?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. "Yes"	58
2. "Yes," with the exception of periods of irregularity due to acute illness, accident, etc.	8
3. "Yes," after the first few menstruations they were regular	2
4. "No" (a good deal of irregularity)	26
5. "No," qualified (had periods of irregularity)	5
6. "Don't remember"	1
Total	100

Table 91

Card 6: Question 9: *"Were they (menstruations) painful the first few times?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. First few menstruations were not painful	62
2. First few menstruations were not seriously painful	7
3. First few menstruations were less painful than later ones	1
4. Only the first menstruation was painful	1
5. The first menstruation was not painful, but the other early ones were	2
6. The first few menstruations were more or less seriously painful	27
Total	100

Table 92

Card 7: Question 1: *"Were you prepared by instruction before marriage to expect the sex act your wedding night?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. "No"	23
2. "No," with reservations	11
3. "Yes," inadequately	2
4. "Yes"	29
5. Had premarital sex intercourse	35
Total	100

Table 93

Card 7: Question 2: ***"If so, by whom were you instructed?"***

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. Learned it by having premarital sex act	35
2. Learned it from men friends	3
3. Learned it from the man she married	5
4. "Picked it up"	7
5. Learned it by a subterfuge	1
6. Learned about it from other girls	8
7. Read about it	22
8. Learned it in taking training to be a nurse	2
9. Learned it while doing social service work: had previously entertained no suspicion that there was such a thing as sex intercourse	1
10. Was instructed in college lectures	5
11. Was instructed by a woman physician	3
12. Was instructed by a "physician" (sex of physician not specified)	2
13. Learned it from women friends	10
14. Learned it from a sister	7
15. Learned it from an aunt, a mature girl cousin, etc.	4
16. A girl friend's mother instructed her	1
17. Her stepmother gave her inadequate instruction	1
18. Her mother gave her inadequate instruction	4
19. Her mother instructed her	10
20. "Nobody"	21
21. "Don't remember"	2
Total*	154

* Many of the women alluded to more than a single source of instruction or information; hence the excess of 54 entries. The findings in *Tables 92* and *93* cannot be reconciled without falsification of the records. It appears that the word "instruction" in these two questions was a rather elastic one in the minds of the women who answered them. At any rate, some of the women who stated that they had received no such instruction in answer to the first question alluded to a source of instruction in answering the second, and others reversed this inconsistency.

Table 94

Card 7: Question 3: *"Did your first sex act cause you much pain?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. "No;" "Painful, but not seriously so," etc.	61
2. "No;" the hymen was not broken for several months	1
3. "Yes"	15
4. "Yes;" it was seriously painful	16
5. "Yes;" seriously painful, and hymen was not broken for a month	1
6. "Yes;" had to be dilated by a physician	5
7. Inconclusive answer	1
Total	100

Table 95

Card 7: Question 4: *"Did it (the first sex act) frighten you? Disgust you? Surprise you?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. Disgusted, frightened and surprised	5
2. Disgusted and frightened	1
3. Disgusted	4
4. Frightened, disappointed and surprised	1
5. Frightened and surprised	1
6. Frightened	9
7. Shocked and disappointed	1
8. Shocked	2
9. Disappointed	2
10. Surprised	14
11. Felt that it wasn't a right thing to do	1
12. Was interested, but didn't like it	1
13. "No" (neither frightened, disgusted nor surprised)	57
14. Inconclusive answer	1
Total	100

Table 96

Card 7: Question 5: *"Did you enjoy the first sex act?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. "No, hated it;" "No, was horrified," etc.	2
2. "No"	55
3. "Not particularly"	6
4. "No," with reservations	4
5. Her feelings about it were mixed	4
6. Was neutral about it	2
7. Was happy to make her husband happy	1
8. "Yes, a little;" "Yes, moderately"	3
9. "Yes," with reservations	5
10. "Yes"	17
11. Inconclusive answer	1
Total	100

Table 97

Card 7: Question 6: *"About how many times did you have the sex act before you began to have orgasms?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. The first time	4
2. "Right away"	1
3. "Always had an orgasm"	1
4. 2 or 3 times	1
5. 3 or 4 times	2
6. 4 or 5 times	1
7. "Soon;" "A short time"	6
8. 6 times	2
9. 1 week	3
10. 2 weeks	2
11. 10 times	2
12. 2 or 3 weeks	1
13. 1 to 4 weeks	2
14. 1 month	1
15. 2 months	3
16. 3 months	1
17. Several months	2
18. 5 or 6 months	2
19. 7 or 8 months	1

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
20. 1 year	3
21. Not the first year	1
22. The second year	3
23. The third year	1
24. 3 years	1
25. "Several years"	2
26. 5 or 6 years	1
27. 7 years	1
28. "Not until the third child was wanted"	1
29. "A long time"	2
30. Had an orgasm the first time, then none for months	1
31. Never had an orgasm with her husband	3
32. Never had an orgasm with her first husband and hasn't had many with her second husband	1
33. "Never had an inner orgasm"	1
34. Is doubtful if she ever had an orgasm	6
35. Never had an orgasm	20
36. Inconclusive answers	14
Total	100

Table 98

Card 7: Question 7: ***"Was the sex act pleasant to you, distasteful, painful, or merely a matter in which you were not personally interested during the first year? During the second year? After that?"***

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. Always pleasant	20
2. Always pleasant unless she is tired	3
3. Always pleasant after it ceased to be painful	2
4. Always pleasant unless surfeited	1
5. Always pleasant when husband isn't drunk	1
6. Always pleasant unless her jealousy enters in	1
7. Always pleasant after the first few times	1
8. Is usually pleasant	9
9. Always pleasant with second husband	1
10. Pleasant but not thrilling	1
11. Mildly pleasant; was continent the first 10 months	1
12. Usually pleasant, but has occasional distaste and sense of guilt	1
13. It is always interesting because she loves her husband	1
14. Variable; it is never distasteful	1

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
15. Is usually indifferent, but sometimes it is pleasant	1
16. Sometimes she is indifferent, sometimes it is pleasant	1
17. From the beginning her pleasure in it has been a variable experience	6
18. Distasteful at times, pleasant at times	2
19. It was always painful	1
20. She is uninterested in the sex act	3
21. It is always an inadequate experience for her	6
22. It is always unsatisfying	1
23. She was indifferent the first year; since then it has been variably pleasant and distasteful	1
24. It has always been distasteful	6
25. It has always been distasteful; statement qualified	1
26. Continent the first year; always distasteful thereafter	1
27. Distasteful all the first year and usually so thereafter	1
28. Always inadequate, uninteresting or distasteful	1
29. She was eager but unsatisfied the first 2 years, since when it has always been distasteful	1
30. It varied the first year and a half, since when it has always been distasteful	1
31. Pleasant the first year, distasteful thereafter	3
32. Distasteful the first year; usually distasteful thereafter	1
33. Inadequate and distasteful	2
34. Distasteful the first few months; pleasant thereafter	1
35. Distasteful the first 2 years; more pleasant thereafter	1
36. Variably pleasant and distasteful the first year; has been better since then	1
37. Was pleasant the first time, then she loathed it, but in last 3 years it has been better	1
38. Unpleasant the first 2 years; better now than ever	1
39. Inadequate the first 2 years; better thereafter	1
40. Indifferent the first year; more pleasant thereafter	3
41. Distasteful the first year; pleasant at times thereafter	1
42. Distasteful the first 2 years; more interesting thereafter	1
43. Distasteful first year, pleasant second year, then husband contracted syphilis and it was discontinued	1

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
44. Indifferent the first 2 years; it is now more pleasant	1
45. Distasteful the first 5 years; pleasurable thereafter	1
46. Inconclusive answers	2
Total	100

Table 99

Card 7: Question 8: *"If the sex act has ever been distasteful to you, why has it been so?"*

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
1. His inadequate approach	5
2. His lack of consideration of her pleasure in the act	2
3. His premature orgasms	1
4. His impotency—his partial impotency	3
5. His slowness in the act	1
6. His syphilis	1
7. His secretly masturbating her in her sleep	1
8. His inability to satisfy her	1
9. It didn't seem to be an expression of love on his part	1
10. He is displeasing sexually	1
11. His too frequent sex demands—surfeit—too frequent intercourse	6
12. His alcoholism	2
13. His indifference—his coldness	2
14. His sullen fits	1
15. His lack of understanding	1
16. Her fatigue	10
17. Her preoccupation with other things	1
18. Her sleepiness	3
19. Her resistance to being wholly possessed	1
20. Her period of sexual anaesthesia	1
21. Her lack of desire or interest	11
22. Her laziness	1
23. Her pain (induced by sex act)	8
24. Her inability to satisfy her sex desire in the act	3
25. Her pregnancy	2
26. Her fear of pregnancy	5
27. Her Puritanical upbringing	1
28. She had been taught to repress sex	1
29. Her feeling that the sex act is degrading	1
30. All that she has known about sex has been on the seamy side	1

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
31. The thought of the sex act was distasteful to her before marriage	1
32. The shock of her wedding night still lingered	1
33. Her belief that the sex act is for procreation exclusively	1
34. Her objection to the messiness of the sex act	3
35. Their ignorance	1
36. Their early bungling	1
37. There is no love between them	2
38. Lack of harmony between them—misunderstandings, etc.	4
39. She hated him	1
40. Her jealousy of another girl	1
41. Whenever she didn't love the particular man with whom she was having sex intercourse	1
42. Inconclusive answers	3
43. The subject thinks that the question is inapplicable to her	31
Total	130

(Answers listed as items 1 to 42 inclusive were given by 69 different women.)

II

Table 74 discloses a rather formidable list of major and minor operations in the pelvic region to which 46 of the 100 women had been subjected, but in *Table 75* there are only two answers which suggest a serious and persistent lowering of sex desire as a consequence of any of these operations. In looking for suggestive correlations between the findings of any other two tables of the present chapter, I find that the answers in *Table 97*, which refer to the period in married life at which the orgasm was first experienced, are less reliable than such an important point of reference ought to be for this purpose. This is largely due to the fact that it was not until later in the examination that some of the women came to a realization of the difference between an orgasm and a non-climactic increase of sex excitement during the act. An orgasm is an abruptly ap-

pearing, fully releasing and quickly terminative climax which normally occurs in the sex act. It is not to be confused with the more or less steadily increasing excitement and pleasure which a sexually excitable woman who is incapable of the orgasm experiences during the sex act, but which entirely lacks orgasmic explosiveness of onset. The non-orgasmic excitement of such a woman fades into satiety or exhaustion unless the man terminates his part of the sex act before this ending can occur. In subsequent chapters we shall have more dependable data as to orgasms of women, since the repetition of questions on this point, together with the definition given on *Card 9,* elicited answers which corrected the earlier, misleading ones.

A further difficulty which was encountered in classifying all answers as to the orgasms of women lies in my uncertainty as to what to do about the cases in which there is a history of multiple orgasms during a single sex act of ordinary duration. Of course almost any vigorous young woman who has been continent for some time may have a second orgasm during a deliberately prolonged sex act, but the cases to which I refer are those in which a succession of light, non-terminative and not fully satisfying orgasms occur during a sex act which moves along to one orgasm for the man with ordinary rapidity. These "repeaters"—i.e., women who have multiple orgasms—will have anywhere from two or three to a score of orgasms to the man's one. There were 4 indubitable "repeaters" among the 100 women, and a fifth case which may belong either with these or with the women who mistook their extreme excitability during the act for the orgasm. These cases, it seems to me, ought to be classified separately from the women who have a single, terminative climax in an ordinary sex act. These 5 cases "follow" one another throughout the records in the sense of giving many answers which are identical as to type. They are all women who masturbated before puberty and continued it with much greater frequency up

to the time of their examination than do the great majority of married masturbators. Three of the indubitable cases have *E* grades as to general marital satisfaction, and the fourth has the almost equally low *D* grade. The doubtful one of this group of five has a *B* satisfaction grade.

In spite of the above described difficulties in the way of exploring for suggestive correlations in Chapter VI at this stage of the presentation of results, there are a few points which deserve mention here:

1. *Table 85* shows that 70 percent of the women had the first menstruation *at 12, 13, or 14 years of age*, 12 percent had it *before the age of 12* and 18 percent *after the age of 14*. When we look for correlations between these findings and the dates of the first experiences of the orgasm in marriage (*Table 97*), we find a suggestion that a relatively precocious onset of menstruation may be somehow related to a tendency not to experience the orgasm during the first year of marriage. On the other hand, a relatively retarded onset of menstruation (i.e., after the age of 14) appears to be related to a tendency to experience orgasms during the first year of marriage. *Table 100* brings out this point:

Table 100

	Subject Gave Definite History of Typical Orgasms During the First Year of Marriage (36)	*Subject Either Had No Orgasms During First Year of Marriage or Gave Doubtful History of Its Occurrence (64)*
Subject had first menstruation before age of 12 years (*12* cases) .	3 (25.00%)	9 (75.00%)
Subject had first menstruation at 12, 13, or 14 years (*70* cases) .	23 (32.86%)	47 (67.14%)
Subject had first menstruation after age of 14 years (*18* cases) .	10 (55.55%)	8 (44.44%)
Total . . .	36	64

The above table indicates that there were only 36 cases in

which a definite history of first-year marital orgasms was found, although *Table 97* would suggest that this number should be larger. The smaller number was obtained by moving the "repeaters" to the doubtful column and correcting for the cases who stated later in the examination that their answers to the question as to the date of the first orgasm in marriage were incorrect. These amendments of the *Table 97* figures do not affect the figures for the group in *Table 100* who are listed as having first menstruated after 14 years of age or their percentages as to first-year and no first-year orgasms.

2. It will be remembered that in Chapter III all cases were graded with reference to the apparent degree of satisfaction with the marital venture. Those whose answers to certain of the questions entitled them to 10, 11, 12, 13, or 14 points to be credited on the satisfaction side of the ledger were given "Grade *A*"; 7, 8, or 9 points gave "Grade *B*," and it could be said of persons who fell within either the "*A*" or the "*B*" group that for them the general balance appeared to be on the side of satisfaction rather than dissatisfaction. "Grade *C*" was given for persons with only 5 or 6 points each, and indicated a balance in the direction of dissatisfaction. The still more seriously dissatisfied "Grade *D*" spouses had only 4 points each, and the "Grade *E*" ones were the most dissatisfied ones of all, with only 1, 2, or 3 points each or no points at all. It will now be of interest to see what satisfaction grades were obtained by the first-year orgasm and the no first-year orgasm cases. This is given in the next table:

Table 101

	Cases in First-Year Orgasm Group (36)	*Cases in the No First-Year Orgasm Group (64)*	*All Cases (100)*
Satisfaction Grade *A* . .	8 (22.22%)	13 (20.31%)	21.00%
Satisfaction Grade *B* . .	9 (25.00%)	15 (23.44%)	24.00%

Grade *C* . . Satisfaction	8 (22.22%)	6 (9.38%)	14.00%
Grade *D* . . Satisfaction	4 (11.11%)	5 (7.81%)	9.00%
Grade *E* . .	7 (19.44%)	25 (39.06%)	32.00%
Totals .	36 (99.99%)	64 (100.00%)	100.00%

This table contains a distinctly surprising disclosure, viz., that almost as high a percentage of the women (43.75 percent) who did not have orgasms during the first year of marriage obtained *A* and *B* grades as to general marital satisfaction as did the women (47.22 percent) who had first-year orgasms. Impressions derived from clinical experience had led me to expect a much greater difference than this. On the other hand, the distribution of the *C, D,* and *E* grades contains a more definite suggestion that the failure of a woman to attain the orgasm during the first year of marriage may be associated with a greater tendency to find, in the end, that her marriage is extremely unsatisfactory than is the case with the woman who has orgasms during the first year. The above table shows that although nearly as many of the first-year orgasm cases (52.77 percent) had *C, D,* or *E* grades as did the no-orgasm cases (56.25 percent), the first group had only 19.44 percent of cases with *E* grades whilst the second group had 39.06 percent of *E* grades. It will be remembered that "*E*" is used to designate the highest degree of general dissatisfaction with their marriages that was shown by any of the 100 women or 100 men. The suggestiveness of this finding is somewhat increased by the fact that 11 (73.33 percent) of the 15 women whose marriages terminated in divorce or separation did not have orgasms during the first year.

CHAPTER VIII

Marital Sex Adjustments and Sex Plays

I

Various medical writers whose books have been suppressed describe and advocate a great variety of sex plays and many variations of method in performing the act itself. They are convinced that such plays and variations are not only permissible to spouses, but are of definite value for overcoming marital sex maladjustments. This view finds indirect support in the comparative psychology of the sex behavior of animals. Mammals below the level of the order to which baboons, monkeys, apes, and men belong disclose almost no tendency to deviate from fixed species patterns in their sex plays, but it seems to be characteristic of the order to which man and his fellow-primates belong to indulge in purely individual elaborations of precopulative and copulative sex activity. We must also remember that the primates are the only mammalians who are known to indulge in the sex act at times when it cannot possibly lead to conception (e.g., during pregnancy and the infertile period between ovulation periods). All this suggests, not only that for primates the sex act may have a biological value in addition to its reproductive one, but that individual elaborations of the approach to the sex act and of the performance of it may meet various social and physiological needs of baboons, monkeys, apes, and men.

The erotologists' case records are usually presented in a way to suggest the attitude of the sincere but not very critical advocate of an emotionally held belief in the therapeutic adequacy of sex plays and variations. They have supplied convincing evidence that spouses who approach

each other sexually in a very free and playful spirit are more likely to effect a satisfactory sex adjustment than can be attained by spouses who tacitly assume that it is unaesthetic, immodest, immoral, or even "perverted" to ignore certain copulative conventions. On the other hand, I have encountered a discouragingly large number of spouses who have failed to obtain any substantial and lasting relief from sexual maladjustments by reading and attempting to profit by the always optimistic literature of erotology. This is, perhaps, largely due to the circumstance that most of our unwittingly held and operative inhibitions fail to remit even after we have made the fullest possible intellectual corrections for them. In this lies one of the most important problems of research psychiatry. We know that at some time or during some period between birth and sexual maturity the individual may be so adversely conditioned that his sexual impulsions will find ultimate expression in overt consciousness or behavior in the form of psychoneurotic symptoms. In our eagerness to identify the conditioning factors that can effect such undesirable modifications of the human reactive equipment we jump at conclusions and piece out with speculation what little we have by way of verifiable inference. When we deal with the problems of sex we are also likely to be misled by "wishful thinking," i.e., by a tendency to find proof of agreeable possibilities where none exists.

Table 102

Card 8: Question 1: *"Is sex intercourse between you and your (spouse) always a matter of mutual desire, or does your (spouse) at times merely submit to it because you desire it?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. It is always mutual	23	21
2. It is usually mutual; wife occasionally submits	39	27
3. More often mutual now; formerly wife submitted	5	1

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
4. Often mutual, but often submission by the wife	9	14
5. It is usually or very often submission on the part of the wife	7	21
6. The wife now submits, but formerly it was mutual	0	2
7. It is always submission on the part of the wife	4	8
8. It is mutual, but the wife desires it more frequently than the husband	3	2
9. It is mutual; sometimes he refuses her	0	1
10. Not always mutual; husband submits sometimes	6	2
11. It is usually submission on the husband's part	1	1
12. Inconclusive answers	3	0
Total	100	100

Table 103

Card 8: Question 2: *"Does your (spouse) ever seem to desire sex intercourse for (his or her) own pleasure?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "Yes"	66	92
2. "Yes," with reservations	9	0
3. Husband does not always seek it for his own pleasure	0	1
4. Wife seeks it for her own pleasure now, but did not formerly	2	0
5. Wife more frequently seeks it for her own pleasure now than she did formerly	3	0
6. Wife occasionally seeks it for her own pleasure	5	0
7. Wife rarely seeks it for her own pleasure	7	0
8. Husband rarely seeks it for his own pleasure	0	1
9. Husband is uncertain whether wife ever seeks it for her own pleasure	3	0
10. Husband will not admit that it is for his own pleasure	0	1
11. Wife formerly sought it for her own pleasure but she never does now	1	0
12. "No"	4	2
Total	100	100

Table 104

Card 8: Question 3: *(For Men) "Do there seem to be certain periods of the month when she is more inclined to have sex intercourse? If so, at what time with reference to her menstruation?" (For Women) "Do there seem to be certain periods of the month when you are more inclined to have sex intercourse? If so, at what time with reference to your menstruation?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Wife's inclination is greatest just before menstruation	11	14
2. Her inclination is greatest just after menstruation	21	25
3. Her inclination was formerly greatest just after menstruation, but this is not so now	1	0
4. Her inclination is greatest just before and just after menstruation	11	21
5. Her inclination is greatest either just before or just after menstruation	3	1
6. Her inclination is greatest during menstruation	3	6
7. Her inclination is greatest during and just before menstruation	2	1
8. Her inclination is greatest during and just after menstruation	0	3
9. Her inclination is greatest during, just before, and just after menstruation	1	1
10. Her inclination is greatest during the mid-period (half-way between menstruations)	0	1
11. Her inclination is greatest during the mid-period and "at the menstrual period"	1	0
12. Her inclination is greatest during the mid-period and just before or just after menstruation	3	0
13. "No" (i.e., there is no period of greatest desire that is related to the menstrual cycle)	25	19
14. Her inclination is greatest "at the menstrual period" (not more definitely specified)	4	0
15. Inconclusive answers	14	8
Total	100	100

Table 105

Card 8: Question 4: *"Is your (spouse) willing to have sex intercourse with you as frequently as you wish to have it?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "Yes"	44	53
2. Yes, more often	10	15
3. Yes, usually	20	7
4. Yes, now, but not so formerly	4	4
5. Not always	5	5
6. "No"	16	14
7. Inconclusive answers	1	2
Total	100	100

Table 106

Card 8: Question 5: *"Is there any friction between you on that account?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "No"	74	70
2. "No," with reservations	14	6
3. There was formerly but is none now	1	2
4. Yes, on account of wife's unwillingness	3	11
5. Yes, on account of husband's unwillingness	4	1
6. "Yes," on whose account not specified	4	5
7. Inconclusive answers	0	5
Total	100	100

Table 107

Card 8: Question 6: *"Are you able to have sex intercourse with your (spouse) as frequently as your (spouse) desires it?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "No"	17	28
2. Is able but unwilling	1	0
3. Is usually, but not always able	12	10

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
4. Is able now but was not always able in the past	3	4
5. Was able until recently	0	2
6. "Yes"	64	49
7. Inconclusive answers	3	7
Total	100	100

Table 108

Card 8: Question 7: (*For Men*) *"Do you have difficulty in getting an erection for intercourse with your wife? If so, why?"* (*For Women*) *"Does your husband have difficulty in getting an erection for intercourse with you? If so, why?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "No"	59	74
2. Such difficulty is of infrequent occurrence	14	6
3. No, but his erections do not last long enough to satisfy her	2	0
4. No, but he has precocious orgasms	2	0
5. No, but he has had such difficulty in the past	2	3
6. "Yes"	21	15
7. Inconclusive answers	0	2
Total	100	100

(The answers to the above question for the most part ignored the request for explanations of difficulty in getting an erection. Such data as were obtained with reference to this point did not seem to be of sufficient value to justify their inclusion.)

Table 109

Card 8: Question 8: (*For Men*) *"Do you have difficulty in getting an erection for intercourse with other women?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Never had sex intercourse with any woman but his wife	42	
2. Since marriage he has had sex intercourse with his wife only	23	
3. He has no desire for other women	1	
4. "Don't know how it would be"	2	
5. "Yes"	8	
6. "No"	19	
7. Inconclusive answers	5	
Total	100	

(*For Women*) *"Do you believe that you would derive greater sex pleasure from intercourse with any other man than your husband?"*

1. Never had such a thought	2
2. "No"	48
3. "No," with reservations	3
4. "I don't think so"	4
5. "Not permanently" (sic)	1
6. "I have wondered"	4
7. Possibly yes, but is uncertain about it	3
8. She has passionate feelings for other men, but doesn't know	1
9. "I don't know"	9
10. "Yes"	19
11. Inconclusive answers	6
Total	100

Table 110

Card 8: Question 9: *"Is your (spouse) sexually attractive to you?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "Nobody is sexually attractive to me"	1	1
2. "No"	5	13
3. No, a former sexual attraction has disappeared	6	4
4. "No," with reservations	3	1
5. Spouse is less attractive sexually than other persons might be	5	1
6. Spouse is sexually attractive, but less so than is desirable	1	1
7. Spouse is sexually attractive, but less so than formerly	7	2
8. "Yes," with qualifications	14	9
9. "Yes"	57	63
10. Yes, spouse is sexually more attractive now than ever before	1	1
11. Inconclusive answers	0	4
Total	100	100

Table 111

Card 8: Question 10: *"If not, when did your (spouse) cease to be (sexually attractive to you)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. The spouse never was sexually attractive to the subject	2	5
2. Spouse has been sexually unattractive ever since they were married	0	2
3. Very soon after marriage	1	1
4. During the first year of marriage	2	1
5. During the second year of marriage	0	4
6. Two to five years after marriage	2	5
7. During the first pregnancy	0	1
8. After the birth of the first child	3	0
9. The subject's spouse ceased to be sexually attractive after the subject had extra-marital sex intercourse	2	1

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
10. When sex intercourse with the spouse became unsatisfying	0	1
11. When the spouse began to masturbate	0	1
12. Spouse is sexually unattractive only when very alcoholic	0	1
13. When the subject had a nervous breakdown	0	1
14. The spouse's loss of sexual attraction is only occasional, and is a result of too much proximity	0	1
15. The loss of sexual attraction is a fluctuating thing; a matter of moods; it goes in cycles	1	3
16. The spouse's decrease of sexual attraction has been a gradual thing	6	0
17. The lack of sexual attraction was worst the first year—the situation is better now	0	1
18. The subject considers the question inapplicable	74	66
19. The wife's sexual attraction has increased, and is now at its maximum	6	0
20. Inconclusive answers	1	5
Total	100	100

Table 112

Card 8: Question 11: *"If your (spouse) has ceased to be sexually attractive to you, how do you account for this fact?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
(Men's Answers)		
1. His desire for variety; the lack of novelty; being with her continuously, etc.	12	
2. His copulations with other women made his wife sexually less attractive to him	1	
3. He became interested in another girl	1	
4. He ceased to love her	1	
5. Her unfair treatment of him	2	
6. He developed a feeling of antagonism toward her	1	
7. Her mental immaturity	1	
8. His feeling for her became paternal	1	

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
9. Her psychoneurosis	1	
10. She is autoerotic	1	
11. He is autoerotic	1	
12. She had extra-marital sex intercourse	2	
13. The vulgarity of her behavior in the sex act	1	
14. Her lack of sexual responsiveness	7	
15. Her unwillingness to have her body stimulated in love plays	1	
16. Her ever-present tiredness	1	
17. Her hair turned grey	1	
18. She got fat	2	
19. He likes them fatter than she is	1	
20. She became slattern	1	
21. She became physically flabby	1	
22. Her pregnancy made her unattractive	1	
23. Their bodies don't fit	1	
24. She never was sexually attractive to him	2	
25. Inconclusive answers	2	
26. The subject considers the question inapplicable	66	
Total	113	

(*Women's Answers*)

1. The continued intimacy; too much proximity	2
2. She has satisfaction with a lover	4
3. She was never in love with him	1
4. His lack of affection for her	1
5. He ignores her	1
6. His disagreeable traits of temperament	6
7. He made her unhappy in so many ways	1
8. "Incompatibility"	1
9. He has no concept of her as a soul	1
10. He hasn't a poetic soul	1
11. He is not masculine	1
12. His masturbation	1
13. His interest in another woman	1
14. His too great freedom in touching other women	1
15. He seems to lack sex desire	2
16. His lack of courtship	1
17. He is not a good lover	2
18. He is physically unattractive	3
19. His lack of bodily cleanliness	1
20. His alcoholism	1

Types of *Types of*	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers—*
21. Her fear of pregnancy	1
22. It was so painful at first	1
23. "There is something left out of me" (sic)	2
24. It is a matter of moods with her	1
25. He has always been sexually unattractive to her	2
26. Inconclusive answers	6
27. The subject considers the question inapplicable	67
Total *	113

Card 9 presents a definition of the word "orgasm," and contains no questions. Answers to *Card 45* are presented next since they deal with marital sex adjustments.

Table 113

Card 45: Question 1: (*For Men*) *"Do you believe that your orgasms occur too quickly for your wife's pleasure?"* (*For Women*) *"Do you believe that your husband's orgasms occur too quickly for your own pleasure?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "No"	28	33
2. They did formerly but do not now occur too quickly	6	6
3. "No," with reservations	0	4
4. "Yes," with reservations	15	11
5. "Yes"	40	37
6. They would occur too quickly if he did not control them	7	0
7. "No, his orgasms come too slowly"	1	3
8. They use only cunnilingus	1	0
9. She is unable to have the orgasm	2	0
10. "Don't know;" "Not sure," and other inconclusive answers	0	6
Total	100	100

* The number of cases listed as answering in the above table is in excess of 100 for men and 100 for women. This is due to the fact that some of the subjects ascribed the lack of spousal sex attraction to more than a single cause.

Table 114

Card 45: Question 2: (*For Men*) *"Do you believe that if you were slower in coming to your orgasm your wife would have orgasms more frequently?"* (*For Women*) *"Do you believe that if your husband were slower in coming to his orgasm you would have orgasms more frequently?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "No"	35	38
2. Not now, but this was true formerly	1	3
3. "No," with reservations	0	2
4. No, he is too slow in coming to his orgasm	0	1
5. "Yes," with reservations	15	6
6. "Yes"	28	37
7. They use only cunnilingus	1	0
8. She is unable to have the orgasm	13	0
9. She has multiple orgasms	2	0
10. "Don't know;" "Not sure," and other inconclusive answers	5	13
Total	100	100

Table 115

Card 45: Question 3: (*For Men*) *"Are there times when she seems to feel unsatisfied after you have had your orgasm and have satisfied yourself?"* (*For Women*) *"Are there times when you feel unsatisfied after your husband has had his orgasm?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "No"	25	8
2. Not now, but this was true formerly	2	1
3. "No," with reservations	13	9
4. "Yes," with reservations	14	19
5. "Yes"	38	55
6. She is purely homosexual (anaesthetic heterosexually and has sex affairs with women)	0	2
7. Inconclusive answers	8	6
Total	100	100

Table 116

Card 45: Question 4: (*For Men*) *"Do you ever hold back your orgasm in order to make it possible for your wife to have one at the same time that you have yours?"* (*For Women*) *"Does your husband ever hold back his orgasm so that you may have an orgasm at the same time that he has his?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "No"	9	19
2. Not now—he did formerly	2	0
3. "No," with reservations	6	0
4. He is unable to retard his orgasm	8	0
5. He tried retarding his orgasm but it didn't help her	1	0
6. "Yes"	72	74
7. "Yes," with reservations	1	0
8. Inconclusive answers	1	7
Total	100	100

Table 117

Card 45: Question 5: (*For Men*) *"Are you generally quicker or slower than your wife in coming to an orgasm?"* (*For Women*) *"Is your husband generally quicker or slower than you in coming to an orgasm?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. He is slower	3	6
2. He is slower now—was formerly quicker	1	2
3. He is sometimes slower and sometimes quicker	5	2
4. They now have synchronous orgasms—formerly he was quicker	1	0
5. Their orgasms are synchronous	5	6
6. He is naturally quicker in coming to an orgasm	84	83
7. Inconclusive answers	1	1
Total	100	100

Table 118

Card 10: Question 1: (*For Men*) *"Has your wife ever had an orgasm during the sex act with you?"* (*For Women*) *"Have you ever had an orgasm during the sex act with your husband?"*

Card 10: Question 2: *"If so, how frequently?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. She always has an orgasm	13	6
2. Almost always; in 90 percent or more of sex acts has orgasm	14	20
3. Usually has it	9	7
4. Has it 75 percent to 89 percent of sex acts	4	5
5. Has it 50 percent to 74 percent of sex acts	4	5
6. Has the orgasm, but "not every time"	1	2
7. Has it 20 percent to 49 percent of sex acts	9	5
8. Has it "frequently"	1	0
9. It is variable; periods when she has an orgasm every sex act and periods when she has no orgasms	1	4
10. "Infrequently;" "Seldom," etc.	11	4
11. Has had the orgasm only a few times in all her life	3	2
12. Has had only 1, 2, or 3 orgasms in all her life	1	4
13. Is doubtful if she ever had an orgasm	5	11
14. Never had an orgasm	10	20
15. Has orgasms only by masturbation—never in the sex act	2	0
16. Has multiple orgasms	5	5
17. "Don't know," and other inconclusive answers	7	0
Total	100	100

Table 119

Card 10: Question 3: (*For Men*) *"What conditions seem to increase your wife's chance of having an orgasm?"* (*For Women*) *"What conditions seem to increase your chance of having an orgasm?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. His fondling her, making love to her, etc.	4	10
2. Lack of haste	0	9
3. Prolongation of the act	24	11
4. Adequate foreplay; prolonged foreplay	25	9
5. A not too long preliminary	1	0
6. If he is very excited	4	3
7. If he uses his imagination	0	1
8. Feeling his mastery	0	1
9. A feeling of strangeness between them	0	1
10. If he is not too intent on his own reaction	0	1
11. If his behavior is pleasing	0	1
12. If he is passive and leaves the initiative to her	1	0
13. If she is on top	3	1
14. If he guesses her desire without being told	0	1
15. Being away on a holiday	1	0
16. If they have had a long talk	1	0
17. Not starting from a purely sensual basis	0	1
18. When no affection is mixed with it	0	1
19. A feeling of harmony between them; a happy evening together	5	11
20. A feeling that the pleasure is mutual	0	3
21. A re-meeting after an absence	1	1
22. An absence just preceding menstruation	0	1
23. If there is not too great frequency of the act	2	4
24. A period of continence	1	1
25. If there is absolute quiet	0	1
26. Being mentally relaxed	3	3
27. Having time to relax	0	1
28. Being able to let go	0	2
29. Being in the mood	1	2
30. If the children are not likely to call her	0	1
31. Morning	0	1
32. Afternoon	0	1
33. Being outdoors	1	0
34. Freedom from danger of interruption	3	0
35. Keeping her mind on it during the foreplay	1	0

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
36. If she is able to concentrate on the orgasm	0	1
37. An aesthetic setting	2	3
38. Autosuggestion	0	1
39. Mental stimulation	3	1
40. Being interested; having desire, etc.	1	3
41. Being thrilled by music, reading, etc.	1	2
42. Alcoholic beverages	2	1
43. "She might have the orgasm if she were drunk"	0	1
44. Cleanliness; "feeling clean," etc.	0	1
45. Her feeling that her appearance is attractive	0	1
46. A warm room; a hot bath	1	1
47. If she is not tired	13	13
48. If she feels well physically	7	4
49. "The time of the month"	1	2
50. Just before menstruation	1	2
51. Just after menstruation	1	1
52. Just before and just after menstruation	0	1
53. "Around the menstrual time"	1	0
54. Absence of the fear of pregnancy	2	2
55. If not concerned with contraceptives	1	1
56. Lack of physical fear (not further specified)	0	1
57. If no condom is used	1	1
58. If he wears a condom	0	1
59. If her original desire is intense	5	1
60. If the husband's potency is normal	0	1
61. If his sex organ is perfectly erect	2	2
62. The charm that he has for her at the moment determines it	0	1
63. If he isn't drunk	0	1
64. An uncircumcised man	0	1
65. Going to bed early	1	0
66. Her own passivity	0	1
67. If she is nude	0	2
68. Their being nude together	0	1
69. Being waked up to have the sex act	0	1
70. Using a lubricant	1	0
71. Novelty of position	1	1
72. Lying on her side during the sex act	0	1
73. Husband sits, she lies on her back and they are face to face during the sex act	1	1
74. Having her breasts stimulated during the act	3	3
75. Husband manipulating her clitoris	12	4
76. Cunnilingus	1	1

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
77. She takes his sex organ in her hand and stimulates her clitoris with it	1	0
78. His manual stimulation of her vagina	6	0
79. Thigh-to-labia stimulation	0	1
80. Tongue kissing during the act	0	1
81. Kissing her ear	1	0
82. If she makes sidewise movements	1	0
83. If his copulative stroke has the right force and direction	2	0
84. The right kind of copulative rhythm	1	0
85. A steady, regular copulative rhythm	0	1
86. Complete penetration	0	2
87. Feeling his orgasm during the act	0	1
88. A certain pressure within during the act	0	1
89. When she touches his sex organ	1	0
90. Repetition of the act during a session	0	2
91. The first sex act after childbirth	1	0
92. "Never had an orgasm;" "Have had only two or three orgasms;" "Don't know," and other unproductive answers	18	23
93. Nothing materially helps her	0	1
94. "She just always has the orgasm;" "It is always perfect;" "It is always satisfactory;" "Nothing is necessary"	4	5
Total *	183	190

Table 120

Card 10: Question 4: (*For Men*) *"What, if anything, do you do to make it possible for your wife to have an orgasm?"* (*For Women*) *"What, if anything, do you do to make it possible for your husband to have an orgasm?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Cunnilingus	4	0
2. Fellatio	0	2
3. "Soixante-neuf" (simultaneous cunnilingus and fellatio)	3	2
4. "Everything, including perversions"	0	1
5. "Anything he desires"	0	1
6. "Almost everything"	3	0

* Some of the subjects gave answers which corresponded to two or more of the above-listed types; hence the excess of totals above the expected totals.

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
7. Stimulating his anus with her hand	0	2
8. Mutual masturbation	0	1
9. Wife handling husband's sex organ	0	7
10. Wife directing husband's sex organ	0	1
11. Husband handling wife's genitals	28	0
12. Husband stimulating wife's breasts with hands or mouth	9	0
13. Erotic kissing (mouths)	7	2
14. Husband stroking wife's body	8	0
15. Wife stroking husband's body	0	4
16. Having the sex act in various positions	4	1
17. Husband makes violent, rapid, lateral, or other copulative strokes which wife finds especially agreeable	3	0
18. Wife contracts vagina on husband's sex organ	0	6
19. Wife makes pelvic movements in copulation	0	5
20. Wife simulates an orgasm	0	1
21. "Friction" (answer not amplified)	0	1
22. Playing about with both spouses naked	1	0
23. Adequate foreplays (not more specifically given)	26	1
24. Love-making before the act	3	9
25. Wife "meets him half way"	0	1
26. Husband retards his orgasm and times it to suit wife's progress in copulation	41	0
27. Wife dances with husband before the act	0	1
28. Wife wears perfume to please husband	0	1
29. Wife "makes conditions beautiful" for husband	0	1
30. Husband plays the passive role to please wife	1	0
31. Husband permits wife to sleep a little between the initial love-play and copulation	1	0
32. Husband tries to make the evening pleasant by reading with wife, having a long talk with her, or otherwise entertaining her	2	0
33. Wife employs "psychical stimulation" of husband	0	1
34. "Nothing;" "Nothing abnormal;" "Nothing out of the ordinary"	18	40
35. "Nothing is necessary"	0	19
36. The wife "merely responds"	0	7
37. Husband tries not to have too frequent copulation	1	0
38. Husband tries but "nothing helps"	3	0
39. Inconclusive answers	1	8
Total	167	126

Card 10: Question 5: (*For Men*) *"What, if anything, does your wife do to make it possible for her to have an orgasm?"* (*For Women*) *"What, if anything, does your husband do to make it possible for you to have an orgasm?"*

Card 10: Question 6: (*The same question for both sexes*) *"What, if anything, do you do to increase your own pleasure either before or during the sex act?"*

The answers to these questions need not be listed here, since they add nothing of importance to the *Card 10* answers which are given above in *Tables 119* and *120*. It was evident that, while some of the subjects answered these questions quite fearlessly, some of the younger ones were afraid of shocking me. There is prevalent among laymen a more or less vague idea that certain of the sex plays are regarded as perverse by physicians, and this may have contributed to their reluctance to give me the more lurid details. After the *"Information" Card 11* had been presented to a subject the answers were almost invariably as frank as could be desired. The *Card 12* answers, which directly follow, show this.

Table 121

Card 12: Question 1: (*For Men*) *"What, if anything, does your wife do, either before or during the sex act, to increase your pleasure?"* (*For Women*) *"What, if anything, does your husband do, either before or during the sex act, to increase your pleasure?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
(*Men's Answers*)		
1. Fellatio	11	
2. She submits to cunnilingus	1	
3. "Soixante-neuf"	1	
4. Touching his anus; stroking his buttocks; gripping his buttocks	4	
5. Stimulating his breasts	3	

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
6. Biting his stomach	2	
7. Plays to gratify his masochistic cravings	1	
8. Caressing him with her breasts	3	
9. Caressing him with her hair	1	
10. Caressing his body generally	22	
11. Erotic kissing (mouth)	12	
12. Getting on top of him	3	
13. Playing with his genitals	32	
14. Moving her pelvis	7	
15. Contracting her vagina	3	
16. Eagerly responding	5	
17. Prolonging the act	1	
18. "The things she read about in Robie's '*Art of Love*'"	1	
19. Exposing herself to him; dancing before him thinly clad	2	
20. Using scents	2	
21. She takes a bath just before	2	
22. She uses rough or violent words during the act	1	
23. "Nothing;" "Nothing out of the ordinary"	29	
24. Inconclusive answers	2	
Total	151	

(*Women's Answers*)

1. He submits to fellatio		1
2. Cunnilingus		8
3. Stimulates her breasts		18
4. Touches various parts of her body with his sex organ		1
5. Makes preliminary copulative movements outside her vagina, thereby stimulating clitoris		1
6. Withdraws and reenters frequently		1
7. Makes rhythmic copulative movements		1
8. Fills up her vagina with his sex organ to the point of painfulness, which she greatly enjoys		1
9. Varies copulative stroke to please her		1
10. Retards his orgasm		4
11. Sits or stands with her astride him, his sex organ being inserted		1
12. Puts her on top of him during copulation		4
13. Tries experimental variations		1
14. Various preliminary sex plays		5
15. Lying together naked		2
16. Manipulates her genitals		25

Types of Answers	*No. of Women Giving Such Answers*
17. Caressing, love-making, etc.	34
18. Erotic kissing	5
19. Looking into each other's eyes during the act	1
20. He uses obscene words in love-making	1
21. He is careful not to hurt her	1
22. Takes her to a dinner or dance	1
23. "Nothing;" "Nothing unusual," etc.	25
24. "Nothing helps"	2
25. They are not congenial in the sex act	1
26. He feels that it is something to be done and have it over with	1
27. Inconclusive answers	2
Total	149

Table 122

Card 12: Question 2: (*For Men*) *"Do you ever vary the method of performing the sex act with your wife?"* (*For Women*) *"Does your husband ever vary his method of performing the sex act with you?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Fellatio	20	8
2. Cunnilingus	22	13
3. "Soixante-neuf"	1	1
4. Husband enters wife's rectum	1	5
5. He has his orgasm on her breasts	0	1
6. "All known positions;" "Every position," etc.	1	3
7. "All the little perversions"	0	1
8. Variations as to position (not specified)	74	22
9. Wife plays with husband's genitals	10	1
10. Husband plays with wife's genitals	13	1
11. Husband stimulates wife's clitoris with head of his sex organ	0	1
12. Copulating with wife on top	0	27
13. Husband copulates with wife from the rear	0	20
14. Wife sits on edge of bed, husband stands on floor during copulation	0	1
15. They copulate in a sitting-up position	0	5
16. Copulating in sidewise position	0	6
17. Copulating scissors fashion	0	1

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
18. They try to describe an arc by the change of the relative position of their bodies while copulating	0	1
19. Husband sits or stands with wife astride	0	1
20. Husband secretly masturbates himself and tries to masturbate wife when he thinks that she is asleep	0	1
21. Wife keeps her legs together during copulation	0	2
22. Copulating with pillow under wife's buttocks	0	2
23. Husband makes alternately brutal and gentle approaches	0	1
24. Husband makes copulative movements against wife's thigh	0	1
25. "Variations of the preliminaries"	1	1
26. Husband stimulates wife's breasts	4	0
27. "Yes"—subject assumes that it is unnecessary to repeat descriptions of variations already given in answer to the preceding questions	10	5
28. "Not much;" "Not often;" etc.	0	8
29. Wife is opposed to any variations of method from the usual one	0	1
30. "No"	14	24
Total	171	165

Table 123

Card 12: Question 3: *"How do you feel about any variation of the sex act from the usual way? Does it disgust you?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Fellatio disgusts	2	2
2. Cunnilingus disgusts	6	1
3. Per rectum disgusts	3	1
4. Woman on top in copulation would disgust him	1	0
5. Copulation from the rear would disgust	2	0
6. Tongue kissing disgusts	1	0
7. "Some things" (not specified) would disgust	1	4
8. Doesn't like variations	0	2
9. Has had no experience, but variations would disgust	0	3

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
10. "Yes;" doesn't like it; it would be unpleasant; variations are not right, etc.	17	14
11. No, but prefers the normal way	0	1
12. No, but did not enjoy variations when they were tried	0	1
13. No, but attempts at variations were unsatisfactory	0	1
14. No, but was embarrassed by variations	0	1
15. "No," with reservations	0	7
16. Variations do not now disgust but they did formerly	0	3
17. "No"	68	49
18. Has had no experience (expresses no opinion as to whether variations would disgust or not)	2	9
19. Inconclusive answers	1	1
Total	104*	100

Table 124

Card 12: Question 4: *"How does your (spouse) feel about it? Does it disgust your (spouse)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
(Men's Answers)		
1. Fellatio disgusts his wife	2	
2. Copulation per rectum disgusts his wife	2	
3. Variations disgust (or would disgust) his wife	22	
4. They have had no experience with variations	1	
5. "Don't know"	10	
6. Variations do not disgust his wife	64	
Total	101†	

* The excess of 4 in the total entries for men is due to the fact that one man stated that he was disgusted by fellatio, cunnilingus, and copulation per rectum; one was disgusted by cunnilingus and copulation from the rear, and one who was not disgusted by variation of the sex act found tongue kissing repellent.

† One man stated that both fellatio and copulation per rectum disgust his wife; hence the extra entry.

(*Women's Answers*)

1. Variations would probably disgust her husband	5
2. Variations disgust (or would disgust) her husband	5
3. They have had no experience with variations	9
4. "Don't know"	13
5. "No," with reservations	3
6. Variations do not disgust her husband	65
Total	100

Table 125

Card 12: Question 5: *"If you do not understand these questions, please ask for further explanations."*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
(*Men's Answers*)		
1. The subject asks for explanations	9	
2. The subject understands the questions	91	
Total	100	
(*Women's Answers*)		
1. The subject asks for explanations		12
2. The subject makes no comment or gives unproductive answers		5
3. The subject understands the questions		83
Total		100

The questions on *Card 13* were prefaced by the following note:

"In the questions that follow, the term 'sex intercourse from the rear' refers to the act of entering the woman's vagina (which is the normal orifice of a woman's body for sex intercourse) from the rear, and not the act of entering her rectum, which is the lower part of the bowel."

Table 126 *

Card 13: Question 1: (*For Men*) *"If you have ever had sex intercourse with a woman from the rear, please state at what age and under what conditions."* (*For Women*) *"If your husband has ever had sex intercourse with you from the rear, please state when and under what conditions."*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Never had sex intercourse from the rear	35	37
2. Has had sex intercourse from the rear with a lover but not with the spouse	6	1
3. Has had sex intercourse from the rear with spouse	59	62
Total	100	100

Table 127

Card 13: Question 2: *"Was it done the first time at your (spouse's or lover's) suggestion or yours?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. The husband suggested it	33	37
2. The wife suggested it	6	9
3. The man's lover suggested it	5	0
4. It was entered into mutually, neither having suggested it	5	5
5. A physician suggested it	2	0
6. It was done after having read about it in a book	0	2
7. Inconclusive answers	14	10
8. Has never had sex intercourse from the rear	35	37
Total	100	100

* The only answers of importance that were elicited by *Question 1* are given in this table.

Table 128

Card 13: Question 3: *"If it was done at your suggestion, was it because you had heard about this variation, or did the impulse to have it done (or, do it) this way simply come to you of its own accord?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. The impulse to have sex intercourse from the rear came spontaneously	20	10
2. It was a mutual impulse on the part of the spouses or lovers	1	5
3. It was a part of their sex plays and experimentation	4	0
4. It was done because the wife was pregnant	1	1
5. Had never heard about it (question not more definitely answered)	0	1
6. Had heard about it	0	2
7. It was suggested by the spouse, the lover, a friend, a physician, or a book	32	39
8. Inconclusive answers	7	5
9. Has never had sex intercourse from the rear	35	37
Total	100	100

Table 129

Card 13: Question 4: *"Did this way of performing the sex act seem to you to be a natural or an unnatural way?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Natural	27	12
2. Hasn't tried it, but it would be natural	2	2
3. It was pleasurable	0	1
4. Unnatural	29	45
5. Hasn't tried it, but it seems an unnatural way	8	13
6. It was disgusting	0	1
7. It was unpleasant	0	1
8. It was unsatisfactory	2	1
9. It was difficult; awkward	1	2
10. Inconclusive answers	6	0
11. Subject considers question inapplicable	25	22
Total	100	100

Table 130

Card 13: Question 5: *"Did you find it pleasurable merely because it was a change of method, or because it seemed to satisfy a natural impulse (to have sex intercourse from the rear)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Pleasant because it satisfied a natural impulse	11	4
2. Pleasant as a change of method	29	11
3. Pleasant because it gives more complete contact	1	1
4. Pleasant because it gives deeper penetration	2	1
5. Pleasant because her reaction is quicker that way	0	1
6. Pleasant because it enables him to fondle her breasts while copulating	1	0
7. Pleasant because he liked the feeling of her buttocks in his lap	1	0
8. Pleasant because he likes gluteal contraction on his sex organ	1	0
9. Pleasant because he could feel or see her back view	1	0
10. Pleasant because it gave him a sense of domination	1	0
11. Pleasant because their bodies fit better that way	0	1
12. Pleasant because she likes it that way (sic)	0	2
13. It satisfied his curiosity	2	0
14. Did it that way because her husband desired it	0	1
15. Was indifferent	0	2
16. It was not pleasant	10	39
17. It was not satisfactory	10	1
18. Inconclusive answers	5	4
19. Has not had sex intercourse from the rear	35	37
Total *	110	105

* 10 men and 5 women each assigned two reasons for their finding pleasure in the sex act from the rear.

Table 131

Card 13: Question 6: *"If you have continued the practise, please state why."*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Because they both like it	3	1
2. Because husband likes it	4	2
3. Because wife likes it	0	1
4. Because her reactions are quicker that way	0	1
5. To help along the wife's orgasm	1	0
6. It gives wife greater sensation	0	1
7. It is a substitute suggested by the wife when she lacks desire	1	0
8. He can fondle her breasts while copulating from the rear	1	0
9. It has been continued as a love play	2	0
10. For variation's sake	2	5
11. Inconclusive answers	9	7
12. Copulation from the rear has been discontinued	42	45
13. Has never had sex intercourse from the rear	35	37
Total	100	100

Table 132

Card 13: Question 7: *"If you have discontinued the practise, was it for any of the following reasons: (a) because you liked the usual way better? (b) because your (spouse) liked the usual way better? (c) because it seemed to you unnatural and wrong? (d) because it seemed to your (spouse) unnatural and wrong?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Because the subject likes the usual way better	47	43
2. Because the subject's spouse likes the usual way better	39	30
3. Because it seemed unnatural to the subject	7	6
4. Because it seemed unnatural to the subject's spouse	5	2

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
5. Because it seemed unnatural and wrong to the subject	1	11
6. Because it seemed unnatural and wrong to the subject's spouse	3	1
7. The practise has not been discontinued	24	17
8. Has never had sex intercourse from the rear	35	37
Total*	161	147

Table 133

Card 13: Question 8: *"Do you and your (spouse) use this method (from the rear), or have you ever used it?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "Yes"	24	17
2. Used it formerly but do not now	41	46
3. Has never had sex intercourse from the rear	35	37
Total	100	100

Table 134

Card 13: Question 9: (*For Men*) *"Have you ever been able to complete the act from the rear?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
(*Men's Answers*)		
1. "No"	20	
2. "Yes"	43	
3. "Don't remember"	2	
4. Has never had sex act from the rear	35	
Total	100	

*Some of the subjects ascribed discontinuance of sex intercourse from the rear to more than one of the causes listed.

Table 135

Card 13: Question 9: (*For Women*) *"Has either of you been able to have an orgasm by this method (from the rear)?"*

(*Women's Answers*)

1. The wife has never had orgasm in sex act from the rear	46
2. The husband has never had orgasm in sex act from the rear	8
3. The wife has had orgasm in sex act from the rear	8
4. Her husband has had orgasm in sex act from the rear	24
5. Inconclusive answers as to whether she has ever had orgasm in sex act from the rear	9
6. Inconclusive answers as to whether her husband has ever had orgasm in sex act from the rear	31
7. Has never had sex act from the rear	37
Total*	163

Table 136

Card 13: Question 10: (*For Men*) *"Has your wife ever been able to have an orgasm by this method?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
(*Men's Answers*)		
1. "No"	38	
2. "Yes"	14	
3. "Don't remember;" "Don't know," etc.	13	
4. Has never had sex act with wife from the rear	35	
Total	100	

*If *Item 7* were entered twice in *Table 135*, the expected total of 200 would be reached, *Question 9* for women being two questions in one.

Table 137

Card 13: Question 10: (*For Women*) *"Has your husband ever had intercourse with you by entering your rectum?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Women*
1. "No"	89
2. "Yes"	1
3. Yes, when he was drunk	1
4. Yes, when both spouses were drunk	1
5. Yes, once, and it was horrible to her	1
6. Yes, with first husband but not with second	1
7. With a lover but not with her husband	1
8. Yes, incompletely	5
Total	100

Table 138

Card 13: Question 11: (*For Men*) *"Have you ever had sex intercourse with your wife by entering her rectum?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*
1. "No"	87
2. "No, but I have had the impulse to do so"	6
3. "Yes"	7
Total	100

Table 139

Card 13: Question 12: (*For Men*) *"If so, did she find it agreeable or disagreeable?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*
1. His wife found it disagreeable	4
2. "Don't know, I was drunk"	1
3. Never had sex intercourse by rectum	93
4. Subject considers that his attempt to have sex intercourse by rectum was too incomplete to render this question applicable to his case	2
Total	100

Table 140

Card 13: Question 13: (*For Men*) *"Did you find it agreeable or disagreeable?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. He found it disagreeable	3	
2. He found it exciting	1	
3. "Don't know, I was drunk"	1	
4. Never had sex intercourse by rectum	93	
5. Attempt was too incomplete to render question applicable	2	
Total	100	

Table 141

Card 13: Question 14: (*For Men*) *"What previous experience led you to desire intercourse with her per rectum?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. At 15 he had copulated with another boy per rectum	1	
2. He had heard that it was pleasant	1	
3. "Curiosity" (Desired but did not attempt sex intercourse per rectum)	2	
4. No previous experience accounts for it	1	
5. He was drunk	2	
6. It gives him pleasure to play with her anus	1	
7. It was purely an accident	1	
8. He has never tried it, but has an unexplained desire to do so	1	
9. He has never had a desire to have sex intercourse with a woman per rectum	90	
Total	100	

II

The intelligence and honesty of the 200 spouses whose answers concerning their sex adjustments are classified and listed in the above tables have made possible the presentation of findings which might easily furnish material for a separate volume on human sex behavior. A fully adequate discussion of them certainly cannot be given within the limitations of the present report, but a separate chapter (the next one) will be devoted to an examination of some of the more interesting problems that they define for us. Persons whose technical interests may lead them to examine the tables closely will find various apparent inconsistencies among the totals entered for given types of answers, which may be somewhat confusing. This difficulty will be reduced if recognition be given to the circumstance that even the most fearless and free-minded individual lives in a world which encourages all of us to acquire a safely concealing forgetfulness of our more intimate sex desires and practises. During the examinations it was evident that memories of what had occurred during the most intimate moments of spousal life often came only in fragmentary flashes after the questions that had initiated their recall had been succeeded by new ones.

Such material as this would ordinarily be dealt with in a quite different way from that which was followed here. Each record would be dealt with as a whole, after which abstracts would be made from it for purposes of tabulation with similar findings from all the other records of the study. This would certainly give us a better and, in a sense, truer picture of the sex behavior of the spouses than the tables afford. Thus it is not until we come to *Table 122* that we discover that fellatio and cunnilingus are relatively extensive practises among the spouses of my study, although many of the questions which preceded the one dealt with there would have brought out this finding if they had

been answered as fully as might have been expected. If I had been content to throw together and list in a single table the answers to all the questions concerning spousal sex plays, the result would have been statistically much more manageable. My reason for not doing so is inseparably a part of a methodological intention which underlies the project as a whole: it is my desire to avoid as far as possible the usual admixture of description and interpretation upon which we base most of our interpretations in psychiatry. Such an avoidance becomes increasingly difficult as one departs from literal transcriptions of what was asked by the investigator and what was said in reply by the subject. Of course such replies include many statements of purely subjective fact which not even the most objective methods of classification can give as purely descriptive presentations; but if the investigator keeps in mind the importance of discriminating between inference and established fact of observation, this difficulty can be reduced to a fairly satisfactory minimum.

CHAPTER IX

Marital Sex Adjustments and Sex Plays: Discussion of Findings

I

A woman may menstruate regularly and adequately, experience strong sex desire, copulate with ardor and without shame or a sense of guilt, become pregnant and bear children, and yet be wholly incapable of having the orgasm (or climax) in which the sex act ought always to terminate. On the other hand, none of the following conditions necessarily exclude the possibility of a woman having adequately frequent and satisfying orgasms: physical frailty or even ill health; irregular or scanty menstruation; removal of the uterus by operation; the menopause ("change of life") and the next twenty or even thirty years thereafter; an unexplained sterility which has apparently always been present; a conviction that it is unaesthetic to copulate, or a religious belief which defines spousal copulation for pleasure as a sinful and degrading act. Our records show that the first orgasm may not be experienced until at least seven years after marriage or until at least two children have been born.

Since in the case of women the orgasm is not essential to fertility or even to intense enjoyment of the sex act, it might be regarded as a relatively unimportant sexual phenomenon if it were not for the nervous tension and sense of unsatisfaction that are so often associated with its absence. Twenty-one of the one hundred women of my study had been diagnosed as more or less serious psychoneurotic cases * before they came to our place of research, and of

* The specific types of psychoneuroses from which these women were suffering cannot be given here without betraying their identity to their friends. A woman who has a psychoneurosis will usually have had a name given to it by her psychiatrist, and this impressive name is likely to become a kind of tragic badge of identification.

these there were 8 who had never experienced the orgasm, 4 who had only the atypical, non-terminative multiple orgasms, and 8 who gave a too doubtful history of its occurrence to be classifiable with my "inadequate-orgasm" group. In other words, only one of the 21 seriously psychoneurotic women could function normally in the sex act, although all but three of them regularly experience strong sex desire. The three who have no sex desire with reference to men are overtly homosexual in the sense that they are clearly aware of the fact that they can be sexually stimulated by women only, and have had love affairs with women in which they have given physical expression to their love.

Although the men were given questions concerning the orgasm capacity of their wives, their answers are, naturally, much less definite and reliable than are those of the women, who were answering for themselves. For this reason only the answers of women will enter into any of the calculations that follow. This material, which is listed in *Table 118*, falls into three main groups. The first of these contains the 54 women who experience the orgasm in not less than 20 percent of all sex acts. The second group contains the 41 women who either have never had the orgasm or with whom it has been of such doubtful or infrequent occurrence that they themselves question the accuracy of their memories as to this experience. The third group contains the 5 women who have the non-terminative, unsatisfying multiple orgasms which, in my opinion, are not classifiable as true orgasms. We have just seen that 4 of these 5 have been treated by psychiatrists for more or less serious psychoneuroses. It has therefore seemed to me to be a justifiable procedure to throw the second and third groups together in the calculations that follow. This gives us a total of 46 women who may be regarded as having a very inferior or wholly lacking orgasm capacity, and 54 women who have a relatively adequate orgasm capacity.

Of course a woman who has the orgasm in only one of every four or five sex acts is far inferior in this respect to the one who has an almost 100 percent record, but the gap between even the 20-percent-orgasm cases and any of the inadequate group is almost as great as that which lies between a woman who has been able to conceive but once in a lifetime and one who has never been able to conceive.

If we knew with scientific certainty what factors specifically determine orgasm capacity and incapacity, some very important chapters in the psychobiology of human sex functions would already have been written. As matters stand, we lack research material upon which to base other than purely speculative guesses as to whether explorations for these factors can be more profitably made by the physiologist or the psychiatrist. There seems to be nothing to do about it but to sort out and examine the various explanatory possibilities in the hope of finding a few which may find sufficient support in available facts to justify their further exploration.

II

1. In Chapter VII we found that only 36 of the women could give a history of indubitable orgasms during the first year of marriage. We now find that 18 of the remaining 64 began to have orgasms at some time after the first year. The subsequent orgasm history of these 18 women who had a complete incapacity during the first year of marriage, but who developed a capacity thereafter, is shown in the next table:

Table 142

Present Orgasm Capacity of 18 Women Who Did Not Have Orgasms During the First Year of Marriage

Orgasm Capacity	*Number of Cases*
"Almost always has the orgasm;" has it in 90 percent of sex acts	7
"Usually has it"	3

Orgasm Capacity	*Number of Cases*
Has it 75 percent to 89 percent of sex acts	1
Has it 50 percent to 74 percent of sex acts	2
Has it, "but not every time"	1
Has it 20 percent to 49 percent of sex acts	3
Has it with variable frequency	1
Total	18

2. In Chapter VII it was seen that, although only 36 percent of all cases had the orgasm during the first year of marriage, 55.55 percent of the women who first menstruated after the age of 14 had it the first year. The findings there suggested that first-year orgasm capacity is favored by lateness of the first menstruation and that the earlier a girl begins to menstruate the less likely is she to have the orgasm during the first year of marriage. This suggestion is supported by the findings listed in *Table 118* of Chapter VIII when these are correlated with the *Table 85* findings:

Table 143

Relation of Date of First Menstruation to Present Orgasm Capacity

Age at First Menstruation	*Present Orgasm Capacity* Adequate	Inadequate
Less than 12 years old (12 cases)	4 (33.33%)	8 (66.67%)
12, 13, or 14 years old (70 cases)	39 (55.71%)	31 (44.29%)
More than 14 years old (18 cases)	11 (61.11%)	7 (38.89%)
Total (100 cases)	54	46

If a study of several thousand cases were to support the suggestion contained in the above table, there would still remain the problem of determining its significance. From a behavioristic standpoint there is the possibility that the accumulated negative conditionings of childhood may be less effective in determining the final reactive value of sex desire the later this is brought to an issue by the onset of puberty. Appropriate physiological research might adduce a quite different explanation.

3. The relation of frequency of the menstrual period to orgasm capacity is brought out in the next table:

Table 144

Frequency of Menstrual Period	*Present Orgasm Capacity* Adequate	Inadequate
Normally menstruates not less frequently than every 30 days nor more frequently than every 28 days (66 cases)	35 (53.03%)	31 (46.97%)
May normally menstruate less frequently than every 30 days (12 cases)	8 (66.67%)	4 (33.33%)
Normally menstruates more frequently than every 28 days (18 cases)	7 (38.89%)	11 (61.11%)
Menstruates too irregularly to be classified (4 cases)	4 (100.00%)	0 (.00%)
Total (100 cases)	54	46

4. In making up the next table, which presents the relation of orgasm capacity to length of menstrual period, it was found that only 75 of the women could be classified as falling within sharply defined groups:

Table 145

Relation of Length of Menstrual Period to Present Orgasm Capacity

Duration of Menstrual Period	*Present Orgasm Capacity* Adequate	Inadequate
Never exceeds 4 days (38 cases)	18 (47.37%)	20 (52.63%)
Normally 5 days (19 cases)	12 (63.16%)	7 (36.84%)
Never less than 5 days and may normally exceed 5 days (18 cases)	11 (61.11%)	7 (38.89%)
Not classified (25 cases)	13 (52.00%)	12 (48.00%)
Total (100 cases)	54	46

5. Some women have one period of maximum sex desire during each menstrual cycle, some have two such periods, and others have none. The females of most, if not all, the

mammalian species with which we are familiar will not copulate except at the end of menstruation, and may therefore be said to have only one period of sex desire during each menstrual cycle. It is unfortunate that we could not have employed Stockard and Papanicolaou's * technique for the determination of the ovulation cycle of all the women, since there is a possibility that periodicity of sex desire may be related to this function rather than to menstruation. The two cycles do not bear the same relation to each other in all women. In the table that directly follows it will be seen that the answers of the 100 women with reference to periodicity of sex desire fall into 6 general groups. It is interestingly suggestive that the largest of these groups is composed of women who have their period of maximum sex desire immediately after menstruation and at no other period with reference to the menstrual cycle. Still more interesting is the fact that 80 percent of these cases belong to the adequate group as to orgasm capacity. This finding seems to me to be sufficiently suggestive to justify a study of at least a thousand women with reference to the following points: (1) menstrual cycle, (2) ovulation cycle, (3) periodicity of sex desire, and (4) orgasm capacity.

Table 146

Relation of Periodicity of Sex Desire to Orgasm Capacity

Period of Maximum Sex Desire	*Present Orgasm Capacity*	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
Just after menstruation only (25 cases)†	20 (80.00%)	5 (20.00%)
Just before menstruation only (14 cases)	7 (50.00%)	7 (50.00%)

* Stockard and Papanicolaou: "The Existence of a Typical Oestrous Cycle in the Guinea Pig, with a Study of its Histological and Physiological Changes." American Journal of Anatomy, Vol. 2, 1917.

† Dr. Davis's findings as to periodicity of sex desire vary so widely from mine that a question arises as to whether unmarried women, writing their answers on blank forms which are mailed to the investigator after they are filled out, are likely to give dependable information on this point. She found that of the 126 single women who claimed to have only one period of maximum sex desire 69 have it just before and 38 just after menstruation. (Davis, Katharine B.: "Periodicity of Sex Desire." The American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology, Vol. XII, No. 6, December 1926, p. 827.)

Period of Maximum Sex Desire	*Present Orgasm Capacity* *Adequate*	*Inadequate*
Just before and just after menstruation (21 cases)	10 (47.62%)	11 (52.38%)
During, during and before, or during and after menstruation (11 cases)	5 (45.45%)	6 (54.55%)
Have no periodicity of sex desire (19 cases)	9 (47.37%)	10 (52.63%)
All other cases (10 cases)	3 (30.00%)	7 (70.00%)
Total (100 cases)	54	46

6. *Table 80* lists the answers to the question, "Are you likely to be depressed shortly before, during, or immediately following menstruation?" Only 18 of the 100 women answered with an unqualified "No"; 54 admitted pre-menstrual depression, 9 admitted depression before and during menstruation, and the other 19 women gave answers which fell into 8 small groups. 11 women stated that their pre-menstrual depressions are marked, thus affording us an opportunity to compare two sharply contrasted groups—these cases and the 18 categorical "No" cases—as to orgasm capacity. This is done in the next table:

Table 147

Relation of Pre-menstrual Depression to Orgasm Capacity

Answers as to Pre-menstrual Depression	*Present Orgasm Capacity* *Adequate*	*Inadequate*
Marked pre-menstrual depression (11 cases)	*3 (27.27%)*	*8 (72.73%)*
Pre-menstrual depression, degree not specified (43 cases)	25 (58.14%)	18 (41.86%)
Depression before and during menstruation (9 cases)	4 (44.44%)	5 (55.56%)
No pre-menstrual depression (18 cases)	*13 (72.22%)*	*5 (27.78%)*
Unclassified (19 cases)	9 (47.37%)	10 (52.63%)
Total (100 cases)	54	46

The findings in the above table become much more suggestive when contextual facts from the records are given with reference to the 5 women who do not have pre-menstrual depressions but who have lacking or inferior orgasm capacity. One of these 5 women is frigid, 2 were having extra-marital love affairs with illicit sex relations, and 1, who has multiple orgasms, had recently been psychoanalyzed with good results as to general poise and emotional stability. Only 3 of the 11 women who have marked pre-menstrual depressions belong to the group that is adequate as to orgasm capacity. Of these, 1 is seriously hypothyroid, 1 has marked guilt reactions to her own sex urges, and 1 is extremely dissatisfied with both the physical and mental qualities of her husband. Although all 3 have orgasms with sufficient frequency to bring them within the adequate group, none has a satisfying sex life. Although *Table 147* definitely suggests (1) that there is some sort of relationship between inferior or lacking orgasm capacity and a tendency to have marked pre-menstrual depression, and (2) that freedom from such a tendency is likely to be associated with a relatively adequate orgasm capacity, only a detailed presentation of the individual case records would bring out this point as clearly as the total material would seem to justify. Here, again, it is very desirable to have findings from a sufficiently large number of cases to bring out such statistical values as might be both important and conclusive. In the end, we are on safer ground when we do not need to bolster up findings which are statistically unconvincing by appeals to what total clinical pictures seem to show.

7. I not infrequently encounter educated laymen who assume that a woman cannot become pregnant without having the orgasm. This, of course, is based upon a gross misconception, but there remains a question as to whether the orgasm favors pregnancy. The next table suggests that it does not:

Table 148

Orgasm Capacity	*Pregnant*	*Never Pregnant*
Relatively adequate (54 cases) .	44 (81.48%)	10 (18.52%)
Inferior or lacking (46 cases) .	38 (82.61%)	8 (17.39%)
Total (100 cases) . .	82	18

In *Table 50* we saw that the 82 women who have been pregnant one or more times each had had a total of 228 indubitable pregnancies. The 44 women of relatively adequate orgasm capacity who had ever been pregnant at all account for 132 of these pregnancies—i.e., they average 3 pregnancies each. The 38 women of inferior or lacking orgasm capacity who had ever been pregnant at all account for the other 96 pregnancies, which gives them an average of 2.53 pregnancies each. This would suggest that orgasm capacity may favor fertility if it were not that 2 of the adequate-orgasm-capacity women had a total of 16 pregnancies, thereby bringing the average for their group to a higher figure than normal: it is very exceptional for women of their class to give a history of so many pregnancies.

8. The 228 indubitable pregnancies of our 100 women resulted in the birth of only 161 children. Although 82 of the women had been pregnant at least once each, only 75 had ever borne children.

Table 149

Orgasm Capacity	*Never Bore a Child*	*Bore One or More Children*
Relatively adequate (54 cases) .	12 (22.22%)	42 (77.78%)
Inferior or lacking (46 cases) .	13 (28.26%)	33 (71.74%)
Total (100 cases) . .	25	75

The 42 relatively adequate women who had borne one or more children each account for 93 of the 161 children, or 2.21 children per woman. The 33 of inferior or lacking orgasm capacity had 68 children, or an average of 2.06 children per woman. It would be interesting to know whether

the slight suggestion contained in this finding would be supported or effaced by figures from the study of an adequate number of cases.

9. The question as to whether precocity of sex desire favorably or unfavorably affects the ultimate orgasm capacity of women must remain unanswered by the present study. Sixteen women stated that they had some degree of conscious sex desire before the first menstruation. They are equally divided between the relatively adequate and the inferior or lacking orgasm-capacity groups.

10. Thus far the descriptive correlations that have been tabulated in the present chapter refer to possible relationships between orgasm capacity and various findings which might be regarded as having either a physiological or a psychological significance—largely according to the personal bias of the investigator. We have seen that (1) late appearance of the first menstruation, (2) the longer intervals between menstrual periods, (3) a menstrual period of not less than 5 days' duration, (4) a tendency to have a period of maximum sex desire just after menstruation and to have only one such period during each cycle, and (5) freedom from pre-menstrual depressions are more frequently associated with relatively adequate orgasm capacity in the case of our 100 women than are the converse of these findings. Perhaps a wholly unbiased person would interpret this by saying that it discloses the possibility that in the main physiological factors play the more important role in determining orgasm capacity. It is my own impression, which may not be a wholly unbiased one, that where we are dealing with a tangle of physiological and behavioristic phenomena it is safest to await conclusive evidence before we venture to say which is the cart and which is the horse. In the next several chapters various behavioristic factors will be given consideration.

11. *Table 88* lists the various types of reaction that were experienced by the 100 women on discovering, for the first

time, that they were menstruating. If a woman's total reaction conformed to more than a single type, her case was represented more than once in the table; hence the difficulty of condensing the findings there for purposes of correlation with the findings as to orgasm capacity. In going back to the original records, I find that a less purely descriptive listing of the answers makes it possible to sort them out into four quite definite groups: (1) the women who were definitely gratified by the first menstruation, and who experienced no seriously qualifying shame, disgust, fear, or physical discomfort; (2) those whose predominant reaction was one of perplexity as to what the unexpected appearance of blood might mean, but who were not seriously frightened by it; (3) those for whom the first menstruation was an essentially disagreeable experience, even though some degree of satisfaction may have been felt in the knowledge that, physiologically, they were no longer children, and (4) the small group of women who have wholly forgotten how they felt and what they thought when this important event first took place. Only 1 woman of the 100 gave an answer which was too inconclusive to be classifiable.

Table 150

Relation of Present Orgasm Capacity to Type of Reaction to the First Menstruation

Reaction to the First Menstruation	*Present Orgasm Capacity*	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
Gratification (24 cases)	15 (62.50%)	9 (37.50%)
Perplexity (15 cases)	6 (40.00%)	9 (60.00%)
Distress, physical or mental (55 cases)	31 (56.36%)	24 (43.64%)
Reaction not remembered (5 cases)	1 (20.00%)	4 (80.00%)
Inconclusive answer (1 case)	1 (100.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Total (100 cases)	54	46

My clinical experience had given me a general impression that inferior orgasm capacity in adult women is usually a

resultant of the summation of a variety of conditioning factors which give to all that pertains to heterosexuality a negative reactive value, even when the adverse tuitional impositions of childhood and early adolescence are intellectually corrected during late adolescence or early maturity. Since a reaction of disgust or shame to the first menstruation would strongly suggest the operation of preceding negative conditioning factors, I had expected the correlations in the above table to show a much higher percentage of such cases both relatively and absolutely, in the inadequate orgasm-capacity group. There remained the possibility that only reactions of marked shame or disgust would signify the operation of preceding seriously negative conditioning factors, but the actual findings are quite the reverse of this expectation: 15 of the 100 women had marked shame or disgust reactions to the first menstruation, and, of these, 10, or 66.67 percent, belong to the relatively adequate orgasm-capacity group!

The table suggests that perplexity at the time or a subsequent complete forgetfulness of the event may be associated with ultimate inferior orgasm capacity since 13, or 65.00 percent, of these 20 cases are either inferior or lacking in this respect. Here, again, there is need of more extensive studies.

12. A woman's reaction to her first sex intercourse might be expected to be, to some extent at least, an index of the degree in which the tuitions and experiences of childhood and adolescence have negatively or positively conditioned her with reference to heterosexuality. The first act might also operate as a factor in determining her future adequacy of response. Thus one would expect that rape or even a too painful sanctioned first sex act might seriously impair a woman's chance of ultimately having the orgasm. The next two tables present my findings on these points:

Table 151

Emotional Reaction to First Sex Act	*Present Orgasm Capacity* Adequate	Inadequate
Had no unfavorable emotional reaction (57 cases)	28 (49.12%)	29 (50.88%)
Surprise (14 cases)	8 (57.14%)	6 (42.86%)
Disappointment (2 cases)	1 (50.00%)	1 (50.00%)
Interested but didn't like it (1 case)	0 (0.00%)	1 (100.00%)
Felt that it was wrong (1 case)	0 (0.00%)	1 (100.00%)
Experienced fear, disgust, or shock (24 cases)	16 (66.67%)	8 (33.33%)
Inconclusive answer (1 case)	1 (100.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Total (100 cases)	54	46

Table 152

Relation of Orgasm Capacity to the Experience of Pain or Its Absence During the First Sex Act

Degree of Pain	*Present Orgasm Capacity* Adequate	Inadequate
No serious pain or none at all (62 cases)	34 (54.84%)	28 (45.16%)
Definitely painful (20 cases)	10 (50.00%)	10 (50.00%)
Seriously painful (17 cases)	9 (52.94%)	8 (47.06%)
Inconclusive answer (1 case)	1 (100.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Total (100 cases)	54	46

Table 151 unexpectedly suggests that when such lively emotions as surprise or even fear, disgust, or shock * are experienced in reaction to the first sex act there may be an associated greater than average tendency to develop a capacity for having the orgasm. Reference to *Table 95* will show that the reactions of 10 of the 100 women to the first sex act included feelings of disgust. I found, to my surprise, that the present orgasm capacity of 7 of these 10 women is adequate. There were 17 women whose reactions included fright, and 12, or 70.59 percent, of these have a

* The word "shock" is used here to designate any type of disagreeable emotional upset.

present adequate orgasm capacity. If the possibility suggested by such findings were to find verification in a careful study of a thousand cases, we should be on the way to some interesting behavioristic explanations of human sex phenomena.

13. In *Table 113* we find that 37 women state without qualification that their husbands' orgasms occur too quickly for their own (the women's) pleasure. Nineteen of these women belong to the adequate orgasm-capacity group and 18 to the inadequate or lacking group. This distribution is too close to that of all cases to be of interest save in a negative sense: the fact that the great majority of men tend to come to the orgasm more quickly than do their wives does not appear to be an important factor in determining the relatively high percentage of cases of married women who do not experience the orgasm at all.

14. Women who do not experience the orgasm and who have heard that there are erotological books which disclose methods of overcoming this defect usually find a way of securing samples of these legally outlawed contributions to the literature of human sex problems. If she is not deterred by religious or aesthetic scruples, she is likely to feel, after reading such books, that it is a quite wholesome part of married life to indulge freely and joyously in any sex plays that may appeal to her fancy. It may be fair, perhaps, to assume that a woman who is inadequate or lacking as to orgasm capacity is more likely to secure and read erotological books and to experiment with sex plays than is one who can have the orgasm merely by permitting the ordinary demonstrations of marital affection to lead directly to the sex act. For this reason the implications of the next table may not be fair to the erotologists who teach that sex plays and copulative variations are essential to a rational sex hygiene.

Table 153

The Relation of Orgasm Capacity to Sex Plays and Variations

Habits as to Sex Plays and Variations	*Present Orgasm Capacity*	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
Indulge in no sex plays or variations or to only an insignificant extent (30 cases)	16 (53.33%)	14 (46.47%)
Indulge more or less freely in sex plays and copulative variations (70 cases)	38 (54.29%)	32 (45.71%)
Total (100 cases) . .	54	46

Shortly before I wrote my "Introduction to Objective Psychopathology" * I had a series of cases which led me to the erroneous conclusion that fellatio and cunnilingus are intrinsically dangerous sex plays. These were cases in whom previously more or less well-controlled paranoid trends suddenly became unmanageable. They were all essentially naïve persons who had for a long time practised fellatio or cunnilingus without knowing that such plays have formidable names and are generally regarded as loathsome and indicative of a sad degree of sexual perversion. Of course the paranoid undercurrents were present long before they discovered the possibility of oral stimulation of the sex organs, but the shock of suddenly acquiring a belief that they had been engaging in a loathsome and perverted practise appeared suddenly to precipitate serious paranoid symptoms. Thirteen of the women of my present research had had experience with fellatio, cunnilingus, or both such plays, but in no case could any ill effects be discovered. Six of them were adequate as to orgasm capacity and 7 were not. These 7 were trying to overcome their sexual inadequacy by indulging in fellatio or submitting to cunnilingus as preliminaries to copulation. It can perhaps be safely said that no sex play is psycho-

* Hamilton, G. V.: "Introduction to Objective Psychopathology." St. Louis, 1925.

biologically taboo if it leads to a normally releasing copulation, precipitates no serious guilt reactions, is not offensive on aesthetic grounds, and does no injury to the physical structures involved; and, in the case of the 13 women just alluded to, none of these objections appeared to obtain with reference to fellatio or cunnilingus.

15. In answer to the question, "Do you believe that you would derive greater sexual pleasure from intercourse with any other man than your husband?" 48 women gave an unequivocal "No" and 19 an unequivocal "Yes." 60.42 percent of the women whose answers were "No" and 42.11 percent of those whose answers were "Yes" are in the adequate orgasm-capacity group. This raises a question as to whether a considerable number of the inadequate group might not have orgasms if they copulated with sexually more congenial men than their husbands. Definite figures relating to this point will be given in the chapter on promiscuity, but it can be said here that, although there are exceptional cases, a woman who cannot have the orgasm with a man whom she once loved well enough to marry is not likely to have it under the conditions that usually obtain during an illicit copulation.

16. One might expect that an unsatisfying sex life would favor a tendency to earn money in extra-domestic activities, but this expectation is not supported by our findings. Forty-six women had each earned a total of more than $500.00 outside the home during marriage. Twenty-five, or 54.35 percent, of them belong to the adequate orgasm-capacity group and 21, or 45.65 percent, to the inadequate or lacking group. The corresponding percentages as to orgasm capacity are 54.00 percent and 46.00 percent for all 100 cases.

17. A slightly more suggestive correlation is found when we examine the orgasm capacity of the 15 women who state that their husbands regard them as extravagant in the expenditure of money: 10 of these women are in the inade-

quate or lacking orgasm-capacity group. The 5 extravagant women who have a relatively adequate orgasm capacity have suggestive histories: 2 are married to seriously impotent men, 1 lived with a partially impotent husband for years, 1 finds her marriage fundamentally unsuccessful, and 1 leads a very quarrelsome life with her husband. These findings are in agreement with a common clinical experience in psychiatry, viz., that seriously and incurably extravagant wives are generally women who are either incapable of having the orgasm or who have sexually inadequate husbands.

18. One of the underlying theories of psychoanalysis is to the effect that during early infancy anal stimulation is a source of great sensual pleasure, and that after the tendency to seek such pleasure undergoes inhibition it may, under certain conditions, come to indirect expression as marked orderliness, frugality, or even stinginess. On the other hand, if the anal erotic tendency of infancy does not sufficiently undergo inhibition to prevent its overt expression in adult life, the individual is apt to be the opposite of orderly, frugal, or stingy. Since 10 of the women of our study stated that an impulse to have the sex act from the rear (*per vaginam,* not *per rectum*) came to them spontaneously, it would be interesting to know whether Freud would regard them as overtly anal erotic or as cases in which a repressed anal erotism has come to a substitute reaction formation in this form. None of these 10 stated that her husband regarded her as extravagant and only 1 that he regarded her as erratic in her expenditures of money. Nine of the 10 stated that their husbands regarded them as fair in this respect. None had been rated as stingy. Anal erotism will be discussed more fully in a later chapter.

19. The findings in the next table suggest that a woman's inability to have the satisfying terminative climax in the sex act is less likely to be associated with a high degree of

dissatisfaction with her marriage as a whole than ordinary clinical experience would lead one to expect:

Table 154

Relation of Present Orgasm Capacity to Degree of Satisfaction or Dissatisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole

Degree of Satisfaction or Dissatisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole	*Present Orgasm Capacity*	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
Grade A: relatively high degree of satisfaction (21 cases)	13 (61.90%)	8 (38.10%)
Grade B: fair degree of satisfaction (24 cases) . .	13 (54.17%)	11 (45.83%)
Grade C: balance in the direction of dissatisfaction (14 cases)	9 (64.29%)	5 (35.71%)
Grade D: serious degree of dissatisfaction (9 cases) .	4 (44.44%)	5 (55.56%)
Grade E: very high degree of dissatisfaction, including all but one of the divorced and separated cases (32 cases) . .	15 (46.88%)	17 (53.12%)
Total (100 cases) . .	54	46

If it were not for the unexpectedly low percentage of *Grade C* women who are lacking or inferior as to orgasm capacity, the above correlations would be consistent with what one might reasonably expect. Of course the total number of women who have *Grade C* as to satisfaction with the general marital situation is small, and any of a number of factors unrelated to the spousal sex adjustments might easily account for their general dissatisfaction. If *Grades A* and *B* cases are taken as one group and *Grades C, D,* and *E* cases as another, we find that 42.22 percent of the *A–B* group and 49.09 percent of the *C–D–E* group are lacking or inferior as to orgasm capacity. It is quite possible that the statistics for a large number of cases would disclose a considerably larger difference in the same direction. It is also possible that further studies will disclose serious defects in my present method of grading spouses as to general satisfaction with their marriages.

CHAPTER X

An Analysis of 1,358 Love Affairs

I

The 100 men had 681 love affairs. Three of the women —2 overt homosexuals and 1 with obviously marked homosexual tendencies—stated that they had never been in love with any man. The remaining 97 women had a total of 677 love affairs. Eleven questions were asked concerning each affair, and the 14,938 answers, some of which are extended narratives, make a document of formidable size. A separate volume would be required to do justice to this material, which is a record of some comic, some tragic, and a good many commonplace romances. The best that can be done with it here is to present it in a series of quite unromantic tables.

The 11 questions were prefaced by the following directions: *"Give a list of all the (persons of the opposite sex) with whom you have been in love, either before or after marriage, and give the following information about each of them:"*

Table 155

Card 14: Question 1: *"How old were you at the beginning of the affair with (the person of the opposite sex)?"*

Distribution of Love Affairs According to Age Periods

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Total number of love affairs had by all subjects before the age of 6	4	8
2. Total number of love affairs had by all subjects between the ages of 6 and 11 . . .	76	68
3. Total number of love affairs had by all subjects between the ages of 12 and 15 . . .	120	115

Answers *Answers*	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
4. Total number of love affairs had by all subjects between the ages of 16 and 17	66	94
5. Total number of love affairs had by all subjects between the ages of 18 and 20	90	138
6. Total number of love affairs had by all subjects between the ages of 21 and 25	168	131
7. Total number of love affairs had by all subjects between the ages of 26 and 29	74	55
8. Total number of love affairs had by all subjects between the ages of 30 and 34	60	38
9. Total number of love affairs had by all subjects between the ages of 35 and 39	13	14
10. Total number of love affairs had by all subjects at 40 or older	10	16
Total number of love affairs	681	677

Table 156

Card 14: Question 2: *"Was the (beloved person) older or younger than you?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
(Men's Answers)		
1. Total number of affairs in which the person loved was older than the subject	199	
2. Total number of affairs in which the person loved was from equal age to 4 years younger than the subject	398	
3. Total number of affairs in which the person loved was from 5 to 9 years younger than the subject	57	
4. Total number of affairs in which the person loved was from 10 to 19 years younger than the subject	23	
5. Total number of affairs in which the person loved was 20 or more years younger than the subject	4	
Total number of love affairs	681	

(Women's Answers)

1. Total number of affairs in which the person loved was younger than the subject . .	80
2. Total number of affairs in which the person loved was from equal age to 4 years older than the subject	355
3. Total number of affairs in which the person loved was from 5 to 9 years older than the subject	122
4. Total number of affairs in which the person loved was from 10 to 19 years older than the subject	92
5. Total number of affairs in which the person loved was 20 or more years older than the subject	28
Total number of love affairs . . .	677

We are so conditioned and, possibly, so constituted innately that it seems more "natural" for the male to be the senior than the junior in a love affair. The above table shows that in the case of our subjects the men had loved a total of 199 girls or women who were their seniors, whilst the women had loved a total of only 80 boys or men who were their juniors. This finding gives some support to the theory that all men are more or less under an impulsion to find a surrogate for the mother who is partially lost when psychological weaning occurs during infancy, and tabooed as a love object during the period, somewhat later, when the impulsions of infantile sexuality undergo inhibitive processes. The records show that 73 of the men had loved women older than themselves at one time or another in their lives.

Only 44 of the women had ever loved boys or men younger than themselves. It is interesting to formulate a possible explanation of the tendency of some women to love males who are their juniors. One thinks at once, of course, that such a tendency may be fundamentally of a homosexual nature, and in so far as my material, taken as

a whole, justifies a guess in the matter this seems probable. It seems to me, however, that even if an adequately extensive research * should confirm such a guess it would still leave room for a further one about which I have quite strong convictions: the tendency of girls and women to love females or younger males is usually due, I suspect, to the operation of inhibitions which interfere with the overt expression of their natively stronger tendency to love males older than themselves. Girls are so conditioned from infancy onward that their primary sex impulsions must leap various inhibitive hurdles before conscious desire can go unto maleness as such. And the sexual (or tabooed) quality of maleness is for girls much more a quality of fathers, older brothers, older boys, and men than it is of boys younger than themselves. Metaphorically speaking, the fence that the family and society build around a girl's sex desires is strongly built opposite the field in which older males are found and very flimsily built in the fields opposite which other females and younger males are found.

Card 14: Question 3: *"What was the color of (the lover's) eyes and hair? Dark or fair skin?"*

Card 14: Question 4: *"Was (the lover) short, tall, or medium in height?"*

Card 14: Question 5: *"Was (the lover) thin, plump, fat, or of average build?"*

The data from these three questions are to be used for more extensive correlations with data obtained by the questions concerning the physical qualities of the men's family females and the women's family males. Such use of them cannot be made within the limits of the present volume; hence there would not be much point to listing the answers to questions 3, 4, and 5.

* Which this investigation is not claimed to be! I wish to enter here a disclaimer which is meant to obtain for my report as a whole: not a single conclusive finding is recorded in any of these pages, from preface to final summary.

Table 157

Card 14: Question 6: *(For Men) "Did she (the lover) resemble your mother or any of your sisters in disposition?" (For Women) "Did he (the lover) resemble your father or any of your brothers in disposition?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
(Men's Answers)		
1. Total number of affairs in which the person loved resembled the subject's mother in disposition	113	
2. Total number of affairs in which the person loved resembled both mother and a sister in disposition	11	
3. Total number of affairs in which the person loved resembled a sister in disposition	32	
4. Total number of affairs in which the person loved resembled the subject himself in disposition	1	
5. Total number of affairs in which the person loved resembled the subject's wife in disposition	2	
6. Total number of affairs in which there was no resemblance between the person loved and the mother or any of the sisters in disposition	476	
7. Total number of affairs about which "Don't know" was the answer to this question	46	
Total number of love affairs	681	
(Women's Answers)		
1. Total number of affairs in which the person loved resembled the subject's father in disposition		132
2. Total number of affairs in which the person loved resembled both father and a brother in disposition		5
3. Total number of affairs in which the person loved resembled a brother in disposition		31
4. Total number of affairs in which the person loved resembled the subject's mother in disposition		1
5. Total number of affairs in which there was no resemblance between the person loved and		

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
the father or any of the brothers . . .		416
6. Total number of affairs in which "Don't know" was the answer to this question . .		86
7. Total number of affairs about which this question was unanswered by the subject . . .		6
Total number of love affairs . . .		677

Table 158

Card 14: Question 7: *(For Men) "Did she (the lover) resemble your mother or any of your sisters in physical appearance?" (For Women) "Did he (the lover) resemble your father or any of your brothers in physical appearance?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
(Men's Answers)		
1. Total number of affairs in which the person loved resembled the subject's mother in physical appearance	139	
2. Total number of affairs in which the person loved resembled both mother and a sister in physical appearance	14	
3. Total number of affairs in which the person loved resembled a sister in physical appearance	40	
4. Total number of affairs in which the person loved resembled the subject himself in physical appearance	1	
5. Total number of affairs in which the person loved resembled the subject's wife in physical appearance	2	
6. Total number of affairs in which the person loved resembled the subject's brother in physical appearance	1	
7. Total number of affairs in which there was no physical resemblance between the person loved and the mother or any of the sisters . . .	478	
8. Total number of affairs in which "Don't know" was the answer to this question . .	5	
9. Total number of affairs about which this question was unanswered by the subject . .	1	
Total number of love affairs . . .	681	

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
(Women's Answers)		
1. Total number of affairs in which the person loved resembled the subject's father in physical appearance		102
2. Total number of affairs in which the person loved resembled both father and a brother in physical appearance		15
3. Total number of affairs in which the person loved resembled a brother in physical appearance		29
4. Total number of affairs in which there was no physical resemblance between the person loved and the father or any of the brothers . .		499
5. Total number of affairs in which "Don't know" was the answer to this question . .		24
6. Total number of affairs about which this question was either unanswered or answered inconclusively		8
Total number of love affairs . . .		677

Table 159

Card 14: Question 8: *"To what extent were there demonstrations of affection between you and (the person loved)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Number of affairs in which there were no demonstrations of affection	233	240
2. Number of affairs in which there were no demonstrations of affection before engagement; extent of demonstrations after engagement not given	7	15
3. Number of affairs in which demonstrations were limited to holding hands, exchanging presents, etc.	85	61
4. Number of affairs in which demonstrations were limited to kissing and embracing of a not consciously erotic nature	120	129
5. Number of affairs in which there were ardent demonstrations but which did not involve specifically directed stimulation of sex organs .	40	76

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
6. Number of affairs in which occurred specifically directed stimulation of the sex organs without copulation	82	31
7. Number of affairs in which there was copulation, fellatio, or cunnilingus	95	96
8. Number of affairs about which inconclusive answers were given	19	29
Total number of love affairs	681	677

Table 160

Card 14: Question 9: (*For Men*) *"Did any feelings of reverence for her (the girl loved) prevent you from taking liberties with her?"* (*For Women*) *"Was your affection for him (the boy or man loved) of a kind to make it uncomfortable for you to permit him to make demonstrations of affection for you?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
(*Men's Answers*)		
1. Number of affairs in which reverence for her interfered	198	
2. Number of affairs in which his shyness interfered	20	
3. Number of affairs in which his inexperience interfered	5	
4. Number of affairs in which his fear of her disapproval interfered	3	
5. Number of affairs in which his sense of inferiority to her interfered	3	
6. Number of affairs in which recognition of the conventions, expediencies, etc., interfered	3	
7. Number of affairs in which he felt that their relation was not sufficiently serious to justify demonstrations	1	
8. Number of affairs in which his distaste for taking liberties with any girl interfered	3	
9. Number of affairs in which his desire not "to go too far" interfered	1	

10. Number of affairs in which his moral scruples interfered 33
11. Number of affairs in which his loyalty to his wife interfered 1
12. Number of affairs in which his loyalty to her husband interfered 1
13. Number of affairs in which his concern for her welfare interfered 7
14. Number of affairs in which his feeling that since he was older it would be unfair interfered 3
15. Number of affairs in which his fear of making her pregnant interfered 1
16. Number of affairs in which her inhibitions interfered 1
17. Number of affairs in which her disinclination interfered 9
18. Number of affairs in which his distrust of her interfered 3
19. Number of affairs in which her lack of sexual attraction interfered 10
20. Number of affairs concerning which the answer to this question was "There were no demonstrations of affection" 41
21. Number of affairs concerning which inconclusive answers were given to this question . . 12
22. Number of affairs in which there were no feelings which prevented him from taking liberties freely and easily 322

Total number of love affairs . . . 681

(Women's Answers)

1. Number of affairs in which her shyness interfered 26
2. Number of affairs in which her recognition of the conventions, expediencies, etc., interfered 18
3. Number of affairs in which she felt that their relation was not sufficiently serious to justify it interfered 4
4. Number of affairs in which her feeling that he did not care enough for her to justify her in seeking or accepting demonstrations interfered 4
5. Number of affairs in which her moral scruples interfered 16
6. Number of affairs in which her loyalty to her husband interfered 8

7. Number of affairs in which her loyalty to her fiancé interfered	2
8. Number of affairs in which her loyalty to a woman friend interfered	2
9. Number of affairs in which her coldness interfered	8
10. Number of affairs in which her own inhibitions interfered	5
11. Number of affairs in which the self-consciousness, embarrassment or timidity of both herself and the boy or man whom she loved interfered	5
12. Number of affairs in which her fear of him as a possible seducer interfered	13
13. Number of affairs in which his lack of sex attraction interfered	23
14. Number of affairs in which the fact that she was pregnant interfered	1
15. Number of affairs in which the boy's or man's scruples or inhibitions interfered	6
16. Number of affairs concerning which the answer to this question was "There were no demonstrations of affection" or "The demonstrations were too slight to count"	154
17. Number of affairs concerning which an unamplified "Yes" was the answer to this question	12
18. Number of affairs concerning which inconclusive answers were given in answer to this question	19
19. Number of affairs in which there were no feelings which prevented her from permitting the boy or man to make demonstrations of affection	351
Total number of love affairs	677

Card 14: Question 10: (*For Men*) *"Did any other feeling interfere with your ability to kiss or do other kinds of 'spooning' freely and easily with her?"* (*For Women*) *"Did any other feeling interfere with your ability to let him kiss you or do other kinds of 'spooning' with you freely and easily?"*

There is not sufficient difference between the answers elicited by this question and those listed in the above table to justify their inclusion.

Table 161

Card 14: Question 11: *"What terminated your affair with (the person loved)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Number of affairs terminated by quarrels, misunderstandings, etc.	19	20
2. Number of affairs which were terminated by the subject because of dissatisfaction with or indifference to the other person	93	78
3. Number of affairs terminated by the subject's transference of affection to another person.	51	73
4. Number of affairs terminated by the subject's revulsion of feeling when the lover seduced, raped or made her pregnant	0	8
5. Number of affairs terminated by the subject because the other person infected him with gonorrhoea	1	0
6. Number of affairs terminated by the subject because of subject's objection to their racial differences	1	0
7. Number of affairs terminated by the subject because the subject's marriage was an obstacle to the affair, which was an extra-marital one	4	8
8. Number of affairs terminated by the subject because the other person was married	2	12
9. Number of affairs terminated by the subject because they were both married (but not to each other)	1	1
10. Number of affairs terminated by the subject because of fear that they would cause unhappiness or trouble all around	2	1
11. Number of affairs terminated by the subject out of loyalty to her fiancé	0	1
12. Number of affairs terminated by the subject out of loyalty to a man friend who was also in love with the girl	1	0
13. Number of affairs terminated by the subject because she felt that marriage to her would unduly burden or hamper him	0	2

14. Number of affairs terminated by the subject because of her dislike of a member of his family	0	1
15. Number of affairs terminated by the subject because the person loved had ill health	4	0
16. Number of affairs terminated by the subject because he felt inferior to the girl	5	0
17. Number of affairs terminated by the subject because of the girl's jealousy	1	0
18. Number of affairs terminated by the subject because he was teased by his family	1	0
19. Number of affairs terminated by the interference of the man's family	6	2
20. Number of affairs terminated by the interference of the woman's family	7	14
21. Number of affairs terminated by the interference of the man's friends	2	0
22. Number of affairs terminated by the interference of the woman's friends	0	1
23. Number of affairs terminated by the interference of the woman's priest	1	0
24. Number of affairs terminated by the man's psychoanalysis	1	0
25. Number of affairs terminated by the person with whom the subject was in love	70	73
26. Number of affairs which were wholly on the subject's side, and which therefore never really began except in the sense that the subject had for a period of time an unreciprocated love for the other person	39	37
27. Number of affairs terminated by the death of the person with whom the subject was in love	6	15
28. Number of affairs terminated by separation (the usual termination of pre-adolescent affairs)	146	125
29. Number of affairs which were not terminated by any particular development, as in cases where they gradually drifted apart, lost interest in each other, etc.	82	81
30. Number of affairs which have not yet terminated	29	26
Total number of affairs which did not terminate in marriage	575	579

Termination of Affairs Which Ended in Marriage *

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "It hasn't terminated yet;" "It ended in a successful marriage"	53	49
2. "I married the poor soul" and other facetious answers	0	2
3. Affair terminated impulsively in marriage	0	1
4. "It was not a hurried marriage"	0	1
5. "Marriage;" "Getting married"	39	31
6. "Possibly marriage has terminated it"	0	1
7. The affair which terminated in marriage to the spouse was not a love affair on the subject's side	1	5
8. Separation	5	10
9. Divorce	9	3
Total number of affairs which terminated in marriage	107†	103†

II

The magnitude of the task that lies ahead of psychobiologists who may seek to apply objective methods to studies of human sex problems has been nowhere else so apparent in the present investigation as in the records of the 1,358 love affairs of the 200 spouses. Such a material, if multiplied by 10, might easily prove to be of pivotal importance in studies aimed at the disclosure of the dynamic relationship of the various tendencies which find overt expression in the events of love affairs to the other major tendencies that enter into the composition of the human reactive equipment. Of course only a few of the many obvious explanatory possibilities can be examined here.

* This heading is less tautological than it seems: for some of the spouses marriage did not seem to be the termination of the love affair that led to such a venture, for others it soon meant an abatement of the affair, etc.

† Seven of the men and 3 of the women had been married twice; hence the totals of 107 and 103 respectively. The grand total for all affairs of the men is 682 instead of the expected 681 because one of them married a woman with whom he had no love affair, but this was entered here as an "affair" since it involved a relationship with a woman which ended in marriage. The grand total for the women in this table is 682 instead of the expected 677 because 5 of them married men with whom they had no love affairs in this sense.

1. Three women stated that they had never loved a person of the opposite sex; 46 men and 39 women had each at least 1 but not more than 5 love affairs, and 54 men and 58 women had more than 5 love affairs each. As might have been expected, the homosexual women who had loved only women reported extreme dissatisfaction with their marriages, and are incapable of the orgasm in copulation. A higher percentage of both the men and the women who had from 1 to 5 love affairs each grade "fair" or "high" as to degree of satisfaction with their marriages as a whole than do those who had more than 5 affairs each. These facts are brought out in the next table:

Table 162

Relation of Total Number of Love Affairs to Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole

Total Number of Love Affairs	*Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*		
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction	*Considerable Dissatisfaction*	*Serious Degree of Dissatisfaction*
1. Never had a love affair:			
Men (0 cases)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Women (3 cases) . .	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (100.00%)
2. Had at least 1 but not more than 5 love affairs:			
Men (46 cases) . .	27 (58.70%)	8 (17.39%)	11 (23.91%)
Women (39 cases) . .	23 (58.97%)	3 (7.69%)	13 (33.33%)
3. Had more than 5 love affairs:			
Men (54 cases) . .	24 (44.44%)	5 (9.26%)	25 (46.30%)
Women (58 cases) . .	22 (37.93%)	11 (18.97%)	25 (43.10%)
Total (200 cases)	96	27	77

2. Although the findings in the above table are suggestive of the possibility that a tendency to have a relatively large number of love affairs is likely to be associated with a relatively inferior capacity for finding satisfaction in marriage, we have to take into account the qualifying fact that the lists from which the figures of the table were taken include both pre-marital and post-marital love affairs. If we deduct from each person's total number of affairs all that were had after marriage (but not after divorce or widowhood), the evidence still remains slightly in favor of this possibility, as is shown in the next table:

Table 163

Relation of Total Number of Pre-marital Love Affairs to Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole

	Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage		
Total Number of Pre-marital Love Affairs	*Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction*	*Considerable Dissatisfaction*	*Serious Degree of Dissatisfaction*
1. Never had a love affair:			
Men (0 cases) . .	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Women (3 cases) . .	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (100.00%)
2. Had at least 1 but not more than 5 love affairs:			
Men (53 cases) . .	29 (54.72%)	9 (16.98%)	15 (28.30%)
Women (49 cases) . .	24 (48.98%)	4 (8.16%)	21 (42.86%)
3. Had more than 5 love affairs:			
Men (47 cases) . .	22 (46.81%)	4 (8.51%)	21 (44.68%)
Women (48 cases) . .	21 (43.75%)*	10 (20.83%)*	17 (35.42%)*
Total (200 cases) .	96	27	77

* Here, as elsewhere in the text, correlations involving data as to degree of satisfaction with the marriage have been discussed with reference to figures in

3. 29 men and 41 women had extra-marital love affairs—not all of which, of course, involved copulation. One of the contentions of the younger generation of spouses about which I heard a good deal during my studies of the 200 was to the effect that for a married person to have an extra-marital love affair need not necessarily imply dissatisfaction with the spouse: that, on the contrary, it may even enrich the lives of a husband and wife if each can have an "outside" affair about which there shall be no cheating or secrecy. Some of the most ardent exponents of this view are women who cannot have the orgasm and men who are married to women who cannot have it. Of course I cannot know from a study of only 200 cases whether this coincidence of two findings has any significance whatsoever, but it discloses an interesting possibility. The next two tables should be examined, not with the thought, "Are persons who have extra-marital love affairs as likely to be satisfied with their spouses as persons who do not have such affairs?", but with reference to the considerations to which allusion has just been made.

Table 164

Relation of History as to Extra-marital Love Affairs to Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole

History as to Extra-marital Love Affairs	*Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*		
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction	*Considerable Dissatisfaction*	*Serious Degree of Dissatisfaction*
1. Never had extra-marital love affair:			
Men (71 cases) . .	42 (59.15%)	10 (14.08%)	19 (26.76%)

the "*A–B* satisfaction-grades" or their equivalent, "Fair to high degree of satisfaction." A "considerable" or a "serious" degree of dissatisfaction (grades "*C*" and "*D–E*") represents a situation in which the balance is distinctly on the side of dissatisfaction; hence it might have been allowable to throw these cases into one group. This, of course, would have been a more convenient procedure, but would have required me to ignore, by implication, the always inescapable borderland cases in a classification of this kind. The interposition of a middle group between the two extreme groups seemed to be the safer procedure.

	Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage		
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction	*Considerable Dissatisfaction*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction*
Women (56 cases) . .	34 (60.71%)	10 (17.86%)	12 (21.43%)
Women (3—never loved a man) . .	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (100.00%)
2. Has had extra-marital love affairs:			
Men (29 cases) . .	9 (31.03%)	3 (10.34%)	17 (58.62%)
Women (41 cases) . .	11 (26.83%)	4 (9.76%)	26 (63.41%)
Total (200 cases) .	96	27	77

Table 165

Relation of History as to Extra-marital Love Affairs to Present Orgasm Capacity (For Women)

History as to Extra-marital Love Affairs	*Present Orgasm Capacity*	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
1. Never loved any man (3 cases)	0 (0.00%)	3 (100.00%)
2. Never had an extra-marital love affair (56 cases) . . .	34 (60.71%)	22 (39.29%)
3. Has had extra-marital love affairs (41 cases)	20 (48.78%)	21 (51.22%)
Total (100 cases) . .	54	46

4. Appropriate correlations throw no convincing light upon the question as to how capacity for effecting a satisfactory marriage may be related to precocity (or its opposite) of a tendency to fall in love. The relation of this tendency, in women, to adult capacity for having the orgasm is also an interesting problem, but our number of cases is too small to be of much value here. Nevertheless the next table has its points of interest from a purely descriptive standpoint:

Table 166

Relation of Age at First Love Affair to Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole

Age at First Love Affair	*Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*		
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction	*Considerable Dissatisfaction*	*Serious Degree of Dissatisfaction*
1. Never loved any man:			
Women (3 cases)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (100.00%)
2. First love affair before six years of age:			
Men (4 cases)	4 (100.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Women (7 cases)	3 (42.86%)	3 (42.86%)	1 (14.29%)
3. First love affair between ages of six and eleven inclusive:			
Men (40 cases)	18 (45.00%)	5 (12.50%)	17 (42.50%)
Women (38 cases)	15 (39.47%)	5 (13.16%)	18 (47.37%)
4. First love affair between ages of twelve and fifteen inclusive:			
Men (31 cases)	15 (48.39%)	4 (12.90%)	12 (38.71%)
Women (29 cases)	17 (58.62%)	2 (6.90%)	10 (34.48%)
5. First love affair after the age of fifteen:			
Men (25 cases)	14 (56.00%)	4 (16.00%)	7 (28.00%)
Women (23 cases)	10 (43.48%)	4 (17.39%)	9 (39.13%)
Total (200 cases)	96	27	77

Table 167

Relation of Age at First Love Affair to Present Orgasm Capacity (For Women)

Age at First Love Affair	*Present Orgasm Capacity*	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
1. Never loved any man (3 cases)	0 (0.00%)	3 (100.00%)
2. First love affair before six years of age (7 cases) . .	5 (71.43%)	2 (28.57%)
3. First love affair between the ages of six and eleven inclusive (38 cases)	22 (57.89%)	16 (42.11%)
4. First love affair between the ages of twelve and fifteen inclusive (29 cases) . . .	18 (62.07%)	11 (37.93%)
5. First love affair after the age of fifteen (23 cases) . . .	9 (39.13%)	14 (60.87%)
Total (100 cases) . .	54	46

CHAPTER XI

The Family Background

I

Both theoretical and factual considerations justify us in exploring the periods of infancy, childhood, and adolescence for determinants of those reactive tendencies which are most severely tested as to adjustive value by the marital sex situation and its various contextual phases. This becomes apparent when we consider the theoretical possibility that a girl's father may largely determine for her, during her childhood, the reactive value of almost any man whom she may ultimately marry. Conversely, it is theoretically possible that a little boy's mother may play an exceedingly important role in determining his ultimate capacity or incapacity for spousal adjustments. It is easy to be glib and convincing when one has a great mass of clinical experience to refer to in generalizing on these points, but we actually have at best only a meagre body of scientifically interpretable findings by which to check what clinical experience discloses as likely. We know, of course, that destructive conflicts of adjustive impulsions and the consequent tensions in adult life are often relieved by a technique which seems to accomplish this by shifting deeply buried emotional fixation-points from the love objects of infancy and childhood to love objects which can more wholesomely engage the desires of maturity. Unfortunately, as I have said elsewhere, the material of the psychoanalysts is obtained under conditions which exclude it from the category of dependable observation. Its real value from the standpoint of research psychiatry is to be sought in the explanatory possibilities which it so richly discloses.

A too unsympathetic or too uncomprehending attitude toward psychoanalysis might lead one to regard the contents of the present chapter as irrelevant to a study of sex in the marital relation. On the other hand, a too uncritical enthusiasm for the plausibilities of the psychoanalytic theory and the practical value of psychoanalytic therapeusis are not likely to be associated with a willingness to concede anything to methodological considerations which must be respected when one aims at comparability of data in a study of family backgrounds.

II

The first three questions on *Card 15* for men are the same as the first three on *Card 16* for women, and *vice versa*. This was so arranged because I wished to question the men first about their fathers and the women first about their mothers.

Table 168

Card 15: Question 1: (*For Men*) *"Were you and your father always on friendly terms while you lived at home? Are you still on such terms?"*

Card 16: Question 1: (*For Women*) *"Were you and your father always on affectionate terms, and are you still on such terms?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Always very friendly	5	4
2. Always friendly	52	52
3. Fairly friendly; usually friendly	8	0
4. Friendly but not close; not affectionate	5	4
5. Friendly but had periods of conflict	1	1
6. Always friendly but disapproves of father	4	0
7. Always friendly but not attached to father	1	0
8. Friendly until subject's adolescence	4	6
9. Not always friendly; not very friendly	5	4
10. Not on friendly terms ("No" to question)	10	8
11. Unfriendly in childhood, friendly now	0	1

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
12. Hated father during childhood; friendly now	1	0
13. Never friendly; got along badly, etc.	1	6
14. Was fonder of stepfather than of own father	0	1
15. Friendly with foster father until adolescence	0	1
16. Friendly with stepfather	0	1
17. Not on friendly terms with stepfather	0	2
18. Father not remembered; not well remembered	3	6
19. Inconclusive answers	0	3
Total	100	100

Table 169

Card 16: Question 1: (*For Men*) *"Were you and your mother always on affectionate terms, and are you still on such terms?"*

Card 15: Question 1: (*For Women*) *"Were you and your mother always on friendly terms while you lived at home? Are you still on such terms?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Always very friendly; always very affectionate	12	17
2. Always friendly	54	28
3. Fairly friendly; usually friendly	2	2
4. Friendly but not close; not affectionate	2	6
5. Friendly but had periods of conflict	3	7
6. Friendly until subject's adolescence	6	5
7. Unfriendly in childhood, friendly now	0	1
8. Not always friendly; not very friendly	3	7
9. Avoided the mother's affection	2	0
10. Both loved and hated mother	1	1
11. Not on friendly terms ("No" to question)	6	6
12. Never friendly; got along badly	6	8
13. Always on friendly terms with grandmother, who stood in place of mother	1	0
14. Didn't get along well with grandmother, who stood in place of mother	0	2
15. Always on friendly terms with aunt, who stood in place of mother	0	2
16. Always on friendly terms with stepmother	1	2

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
17. Didn't get along well with stepmother	0	4
18. Got along well with both mother and stepmother	1	0
19. Mother not well remembered	0	2
Total	100	100

Table 170

Card 15: Question 2: (*For Men*) *"Have you been subject, at any time in your life, to sudden feelings of irritability toward your father?"*

Card 16: Question 2: (*For Women*) *"Have you been subject, at any time in your life, to sudden feelings of irritability toward your father?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Marked or frequent outbursts	0	4
2. "Yes," had such outbursts	33	29
3. Yes, during adolescence	0	2
4. Felt impatience rather than irritability	0	2
5. Had a steady attitude of irritation toward him	0	8
6. Steady dislike, disapproval, or contempt rather than sudden irritability	3	0
7. Had periods of unexpressed irritability	1	0
8. Had feelings of coldness toward him at times	0	1
9. Had occasional outbursts	2	0
10. Had only one or two such outbursts in all	5	2
11. Only slight feelings of irritability	3	0
12. "No," with reservations	6	1
13. "No"	36	36
14. Had feelings of fear rather than irritability	1	0
15. Had such outbursts toward both father and foster-father	0	1
16. Had such outbursts toward father but not toward stepfather	0	1
17. "No" as to foster-father	0	1
18. "Yes" as to stepfather	0	2
19. "No" as to stepfather	2	0
20. Father not well remembered	5	6
21. Inconclusive answers	3	4
Total	100	100

Table 171

Card 16: Question 2: (*For Men*)—**Card 15: Question 2:** (*For Women*) *"Have you been subject, at times, to sudden feelings of irritability toward your mother?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Marked or frequent outbursts	0	13
2. "Yes," had such outbursts	32	44
3. Yes, during adolescence	0	1
4. Has had such outbursts only in recent years	4	1
5. Had a steady attitude of irritation toward her	0	7
6. Had a continuous, deep disapproval of her rather than sudden outbursts	3	0
7. Had periods of unexpressed irritability	3	0
8. No, but was bored by her	1	0
9. Felt deep aversion for her all his life	1	0
10. Felt irritable only when scolded or punished	0	2
11. Had occasional outbursts	3	0
12. Seldom had such outbursts	0	2
13. Only slight feelings of irritability	14	3
14. "No"	39	14
15. "Yes" as to grandmother	0	1
16. "Yes" as to aunt	0	1
17. "Yes" as to foster-mother	0	1
18. "Yes" as to stepmother	0	5
19. "No" as to stepmother	0	2
20. Mother not remembered or not well remembered	0	2
21. Inconclusive answers	0	1
Total	100	100

Table 172

Card 15: Question 3: (*For Men*)—**Card 16: Question 3:** (*For Women*) *"After irritable or angry outbursts toward your father were you liable to have sudden revulsions of feeling and feel more affectionate toward him than ever?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
1. "Yes"	24	15
2. Had some remorse after feeling angry toward him	0	1
3. "Felt sorry"	0	2
4. "No"	26	25
5. Father not remembered	0	1
6. Subject considers question inapplicable	45	50
7. "Don't know;" "Don't remember;" and other inconclusive answers	5	6
Total	100	100

Table 173

Card 16: Question 3: (*For Men*)—Card 15: Question 3: (*For Women*) *"After irritable or angry outbursts toward your mother were you liable to have sudden revulsions of feeling and feel more friendly toward her than ever?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
1. "Yes"	34	29
2. "Yes, regret"	0	1
3. "Yes, pity and regret"	0	2
4. "Yes," with reservations	0	1
5. "No"	30	18
6. No, held resentment a long time	0	2
7. "No, only pity for her"	0	1
8. "No, but had regret"	0	3
9. "No," with reservations	0	1
10. "Yes" as to grandmother	0	1
11. "Yes" as to aunt	0	1
12. "No" as to foster-mother	0	1
13. "Yes" as to stepmother	0	2
14. "No" as to stepmother	0	2
15. Subject disclaims such outbursts in answering this question	35	28
16. "Don't know;" "Don't remember;" and other inconclusive answers	1	7
Total	100	100

Table 174

Card 15: Question 4: (*For Men*) *"How demonstrative have you and your father ever been in showing your affection for each other?"* (*For Women*) *"How demonstrative have you and your mother ever been in showing your affection for each other?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Both very demonstrative	9	13
2. Son very demonstrative	1	0
3. Mother very demonstrative, daughter undemonstrative after 12	0	1
4. Father more demonstrative than son	6	0
5. Mother more demonstrative than daughter	0	7
6. Daughter resented mother's demonstrations during adolescence	0	1
7. Daughter rebuffed mother's demonstrations	0	2
8. Daughter demonstrative, mother undemonstrative	0	3
9. Mother rebuffed daughter's demonstrations	0	2
10. Very demonstrative in childhood, then undemonstrative	0	1
11. Father and son would kiss	17	0
12. Demonstrations stopped at adolescence	0	1
13. Fairly demonstrative	4	11
14. Demonstrative, but the children took the initiative	0	1
15. Very fond of each other but undemonstrative	13	0
16. Demonstrations of affection were rare but marked	3	0
17. "Not very demonstrative"	21	14
18. "Undemonstrative"	22	27
19. "Very undemonstrative"	0	3
20. Mother very undemonstrative	0	1
21. Granddaughter very demonstrative, grandmother rebuffed her	0	1
22. Aunt very demonstrative	0	1
23. Foster-mother very demonstrative, subject undemonstrative	0	1
24. Subject very demonstrative, stepmother unresponsive	0	1
25. Stepmother forbade demonstrations	0	1
26. Stepmother undemonstrative	0	4

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
27. Stepmother demonstrative for a year or two, then undemonstrative	0	1
28. Mother not remembered; not well remembered	0	2
29. Father not remembered	4	0
Total	100	100

Table 175

Card 15: Question 5: *"During your life with your parents were you fonder of one parent than the other?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Was much fonder of the father	1	1
2. Was fonder of the father	19	28
3. Preference was somewhat in favor of the father	3	3
4. Fonder of father after 6	0	1
5. Fonder of father until 18, then fonder of mother	1	0
6. Fonder of father until 20, then fonder of mother	0	1
7. Fonder of father from 10 to 20, fonder of mother before and after that period	1	0
8. Fonder of father than of stepmother	1	6
9. Fonder of father in childhood, then fonder of mother	0	1
10. Fonder of foster-father in childhood, then fonder of foster-mother	0	1
11. Disliked mother	1	0
12. Fonder of uncle than of aunt (foster-parents)	0	1
13. More kindly disposed toward father, but not warmly attached to either parent	1	0
14. Not fond of either parent	1	0
15. Preference alternated	0	1
16. Equally fond of the two parents	20	11
17. Much fonder of mother	0	1
18. Fonder of mother	39	19
19. Preference somewhat in favor of mother	3	5
20. Fonder of mother except in late childhood	1	0
21. Fonder of mother in childhood—now no preference	1	2

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
22. Fonder of mother, possibly different in very early childhood	0	1
23. Felt closer to mother	1	0
24. Fonder of mother in early childhood, later fonder of father	0	1
25. Fonder of mother but not always fond of her	1	0
26. Fonder of mother but took father's part against her domination of him	1	0
27. Fonder of mother than of stepfather	2	2
28. Fonder of grandmother than of father	0	1
29. Mother not remembered—was not fond of father	0	1
30. Father not remembered	2	7
31. Mother not remembered	0	2
32. Neither parent remembered	0	1
33. Uncertain	0	2
Total	100	100

Table 176

Card 15: Question 6: *"If so, why?"* (*Why fonder of one parent than the other.*)

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Fonder of father because he was superior to mother	8	4
2. Fonder of father because he had a finer character than mother	10	2
3. Fonder of father because they had more in common	0	6
4. Fonder of father because subject was closer to him	2	7
5. Fonder of father because he was kinder	2	3
6. Fonder of father because he had a more agreeable disposition	1	5
7. Fonder of father because he was more companionable	4	0
8. Fonder of father because mother mistreated father	0	5
9. Fonder of father because the other parent was a stepmother	1	6

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
10. Fonder of mother because she was superior to father	4	4
11. Fonder of mother because she had a finer character than father	5	11
12. Fonder of mother because they had more in common	1	0
13. Fonder of mother because subject was closer to her	21	7
14. Fonder of mother because she was kinder	7	0
15. Fonder of mother because she had a more agreeable disposition	1	6
16. Fonder of mother because she was his champion	2	0
17. Fonder of mother because subject was more dependent on her	1	2
18. Fonder of mother because she confided father's delinquencies to him	3	0
19. Fonder of mother because father mistreated mother	2	0
20. Fonder of mother because the other parent was a stepfather	2	3
21. Subject considers the question inapplicable	20	21
22. Inconclusive answers	3	8
Total	100	100

Table 177

Card 15: Question 7: *"Did your parents get along well together?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
1. No, got along very badly	6	0
2. "No"	14	21
3. "Not always"	12	5
4. They had the "customary family quarrels"	1	0
5. There was not much affection between them	0	1
6. Didn't think so as a child, but they actually did get along well together	0	1
7. Thought they did until they separated	0	1
8. Mother nagged father a great deal, but father bore it patiently	1	0

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—Men	Women
9. No (father and stepmother)	0	1
10. No (mother and stepfather)	1	0
11. Yes, very well; unusually well	14	1
12. "Yes"	30	43
13. Yes, fairly well	21	1
14. "Yes," with reservations	0	12
15. Yes, until subject was 10	0	1
16. Yes, when she was a child, but not now	0	1
17. Yes (father and stepmother)	0	3
18. "Don't know;" one parent not remembered and other unproductive answers	0	8
Total	100	100

Table 178

Card 15: Question 8: ***"If not (parents didn't get along well together), what was the chief source of friction between them?"***

A. Sources of Friction for Which Fathers Were Blamed

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—Men	Women
1. Father's disagreeable disposition; his temper, etc.	8	3
2. Father's selfishness	0	1
3. Father's materialism	0	1
4. Father's defects of personality or of capacity	3	10
5. Father's insanity	0	1
6. Father's drinking	5	6
7. Father's mistreatment of mother	0	1
8. Father's resentment because marriage interfered with his career	1	0
9. Father's greater age	1	0
10. Father's attitude toward the children	2	1
11. Father's premature emissions	1	0
12. Father's interest in other women	5	1
13. Father's economic inadequacy	16	8
14. Father's attitude toward religion	0	3
15. Father's unsatisfactory social habits or capacity	2	1
16. Father's family	2	2
17. Father's over-dominance	2	2
Total	48	41

(The above answers, attributing parental friction to faults of the father, were given by 39 men and 34 women.)

B. Sources of Friction for Which Mothers Were Blamed

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Mother's scolding; her nagging	4	4
2. Mother's defects of personality or capacity	1	2
3. Mother's nervous instability	4	2
4. Mother's drug habit	1	0
5. Mother's habit of belittling father in the children's presence	0	1
6. Mother's refusal to run a home for the family	0	1
7. Mother's too great fussiness with the children	0	1
8. Mother's sexual inadequacy	2	2
9. Mother's interest in other men	2	0
10. Mother's extravagance; her improvidence, etc.	0	5
11. Mother's too rigid moral code	0	2
12. Mother's unsatisfactory social capacity	0	1
13. Mother's family	3	5
14. Mother's over-dominance	1	1
Total	18	27

(The above answers, attributing parental friction to faults of the mother, were given by 15 men and 23 women.)

C. Sources of Friction for Which Both Parents Were Blamed

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Both parents had faulty tempers	0	5
2. General incompatibility	11	14
3. The nervous instability of both parents	0	2
4. Both got over-tired	0	1
5. Disagreements over the children	2	4
6. Sexual incompatibility	1	3
7. Disagreements over money	4	13
8. Religious differences	2	3
9. Differences of social habit or inclination	0	3
10. Each tried to dominate the other	0	1
Total	20	49

(The above answers, attributing parental friction to faults of both parents without blaming one more than the other, were given by 18 men and 35 women. Since some of the subjects gave answers which belong to 2 or even all 3 of the above groups, the total number of men and women who referred to sources of friction between their parents is less than the totals might suggest. 59 men and 58 women are represented in the above 3 sets of totals.)

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No friction between parents observed; no significant friction observed; one parent not remembered	41	42

Table 179

Card 15: Question 9: *"Were your parents divorced or separated?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "No"	90	86
2. Divorced before subject was old enough to remember	0	2
3. Divorced before subject was 12	2	1
4. Divorced during subject's adolescence	0	2
5. Divorced after subject was 21	1	2
6. Separated before subject was old enough to remember	0	2
7. Separated before subject was 12	4	0
8. Separated during subject's adolescence	1	3
9. Separated after subject was 21	1	0
10. Separated at various periods from childhood onward (because of disagreements)	0	2
11. Mother and stepfather separated during subject's adolescence	1	0
Total	100	100

Table 180

Card 15: Question 10: *"If so (parents were divorced or separated), how did you feel about it as a child?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Parents were neither separated nor divorced	90	86
2. Sympathies were with the father	2	0
3. Sympathies were with the mother	6	3
4. Felt impelled to defend the mother's action	0	2
5. Father's going caused her a pang of regret	0	1
6. Upset, unhappy	1	0
7. Felt ashamed that they were divorced	0	2
8. Relief to have discord ended	0	1
9. Took it as an inevitable thing	1	0
10. Occurred before subject was old enough to react to it	0	3
11. Unproductive answers	0	2
Total	100	100

Table 181

Card 16: Question 4: (*For Men*) *"If you were single and not in love with any particular woman, would you be likely to prefer a girl or woman of your mother's general physical appearance, or do you naturally incline toward women who are physically opposite to your mother?"* (*For Women*) *"If you were single and not in love with any particular man, would you be likely to prefer a man of your father's general physical appearance, or do you naturally incline toward men who are physically opposite to your father?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Prefers men opposite to father physically	0	18
Prefers women opposite to mother physically	14	0
2. Prefers men unlike father physically	0	21
Prefers women unlike mother physically	13	0
3. Is sexually attracted to girls of the opposite type but likes girls of mother's physical type	2	0

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
4. Prefers men like father physically	0	35
Prefers women like mother physically	29	0
5. Prefers men who are like father physically in some respects and unlike him in others	0	1
Prefers women who are like mother physically in some respects and unlike her in others	10	0
6. Indifferent—has no preference either way	19	10
7. Parent of the opposite sex not remembered	1	4
8. Inconclusive answers	12	11
Total	100	100

Table 182

Card 16: Question 5: (*For Men*) *"If you were single and not in love with any particular woman, would you be likely to prefer a woman of your mother's general type of disposition, or do you naturally incline toward women who are unlike her in disposition?"* (*For Women*) *"If you were single and not in love with any particular man, would you be likely to prefer a man of your father's general type of disposition, or do you naturally incline toward men who are unlike him in disposition?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
1. Prefers women with disposition opposite to mother's	7	0
2. Prefers men with disposition unlike father's	0	41
Prefers men with disposition unlike foster-father's	0	1
Prefers men with disposition unlike step-father's	0	1
Prefers women with disposition unlike mother's	32	0
3. Is sexually attracted to girls with dispositions of other types than mother's, but likes the mother's type	1	0
4. Prefers men with disposition like father's	0	36
Prefers women with disposition like mother's	37	0

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
5. Prefers men with disposition like father's in some respects and unlike in others . . .	0	4
Prefers women with disposition like mother's in some respects and unlike in others . .	14	0
6. Is both attracted and repelled by men with disposition like father's	0	2
7. Indifferent—no preference either way . .	5	1
8. Parent of the opposite sex not remembered .	0	6
9. Inconclusive answers	4	8
Total	100	100

Table 183

Card 16: Question 6: (*For Men*) *"Describe as accurately as you can your mother's physical appearance: give the color of her eyes and hair, her stature, complexion, and any other physical traits which she has."* (*For Women*) *"Describe as accurately as you can your father's physical appearance: give the color of his eyes and hair, his stature, complexion, and any other physical traits which he has."* *

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Alluded to only attractive physical qualities	56	56
2. Alluded to both attractive and unattractive physical qualities	3	6
3. Alluded to only unattractive and neutral qualities	10	5
4. Alluded to only neutral qualities . . .	31	31
5. Parent of the opposite sex not remembered .	0	2
Total	100	100

* Details as to color of eyes, hair, etc., were sought for purposes of checking answers to other questions in which resemblances of lovers or spouses to parents of the opposite sex were involved. Such details are omitted in this and all following tables in which answers to similar questions are listed.

Table 184

Card 16: Question 7: (*For Men*) *"Describe your mother's disposition as well as you can."* (*For Women*) *"Describe your father's disposition as well as you can."*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Alluded to only desirable traits of disposition	39	15
2. Alluded to both desirable and undesirable traits of disposition	49	74
3. Alluded to only undesirable traits of disposition	11	8
4. Parent of the opposite sex not remembered	1	3
Total	100	100

Table 185

Card 16: Question 8: (*For Men*) *"Give a description of the physical traits and disposition of each of your sisters."* (*For Women*) *"Give a description of the physical traits and disposition of each of your brothers."*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
A. Physical Traits		
1. Alluded to only attractive physical qualities	21	24
2. Alluded to both attractive and unattractive physical qualities	6	3
3. Alluded to only unattractive and neutral qualities	6	5
4. Alluded to neutral qualities only	41	34
5. Men who have no sisters and women who have no brothers	26	34
Total	100	100

B. Traits of Disposition

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Alluded to only desirable traits of disposition	17	6
2. Alluded to both desirable and undesirable traits of disposition	47	54
3. Alluded to only undesirable traits of disposition	9	3
4. Alluded to only neutral traits of disposition	1	3
5. Men who have no sisters and women who have no brothers	26	34
Total	100	100

Table 186

Card 16: Question 9: *"Describe as well as you can your (spouse's) physical appearance: give the color of your (spouse's) eyes and hair, your (spouse's) stature, complexion, and any other traits which your (spouse) has."*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Alluded to only attractive physical qualities	40	26
2. Alluded to both attractive and unattractive physical qualities	11	15
3. Alluded to only unattractive and neutral qualities	5	14
4. Alluded to only neutral qualities	44	45
Total	100	100

Table 187

Card 16: Question 10: *"Describe your (spouse's) disposition as well as you can."*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Alluded to only desirable traits of disposition	30	17
2. Alluded to both desirable and undesirable traits of disposition	66	80
3. Alluded to only undesirable traits of disposition	4	3
Total	100	100

Table 188

Card 16: Question 11: (*For Men*) *"Is your wife like or unlike your mother in physical appearance—not as your mother is now, but as she was when you were a child?"* (*For Women*) *"Is your husband like or unlike your father in physical appearance—not as your father is now, but as he was when you were a child?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Spouse is very unlike parent of opposite sex	17	24
2. Spouse is unlike parent of opposite sex	43	34
3. Spouse is like parent of opposite sex in one feature only	6	15
4. Spouse only slightly resembles parent of opposite sex	3	13
5. Spouse is like parent of opposite sex in some features, unlike in others	13	4
6. Spouse is like parent of opposite sex	11	4
7. Spouse is very like parent of opposite sex	6	1
8. Parent of opposite sex not remembered	1	4
9. Inconclusive answer	0	1
Total	100	100

Table 189

Card 16: Question 12: (*For Men*) *"Is your wife like or unlike your mother in disposition?"* (*For Women*) *"Is your husband like or unlike your father in disposition?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Very unlike	26	18
2. Unlike	27	39
3. Like in only one trait	6	5
4. Only a slight resemblance	1	3
5. Like in some traits, unlike in others	23	19
6. Like	11	12
7. Very like	4	1
8. Parent of the opposite sex not remembered	0	3
9. Inconclusive answers	2	0
Total	100	100

Table 190

Card 16: Question 13: (*For Men*) *"Is your wife like any of your sisters either in appearance or in disposition?"* (*For Women*) *"Is your husband like any of your brothers either in appearance or in disposition?"* *

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Very unlike physically and mentally	4	5
2. Unlike mentally (physically not specified)	1	1
3. Unlike physically and mentally	36	40
4. Like in one physical feature only (mentally not specified)	4	2
5. Like in one mental trait only (physically not specified)	4	3
6. Only a slight physical resemblance (mentally not specified)	1	0
7. Only a slight resemblance mentally (physically not specified)	2	0
8. Only a slight resemblance mentally and physically	2	1
9. Like in some physical features, unlike in others (mentally not specified)	1	1
10. Like in some mental traits, unlike in others (physically not specified)	3	4
11. Like in some physical features and mental traits, unlike in others	2	0
12. Like physically (mentally not specified)	2	2
13. Like mentally (physically not specified)	5	5
14. Like physically and mentally	5	2
15. Very like physically (mentally not specified)	1	0
16. Very like mentally (physically not specified)	1	0
17. Inconclusive answers	2	0
18. Men who have no sisters and women who have no brothers	24	34
Total	100	100

* Of course some of the subjects had more than a single brother or sister, and in some of these cases one brother (or sister) might resemble the spouse and the other not. In order to obtain figures which could be used for subsequent correlations with other findings, only the answer that referred to a brother (or sister) who most closely resembled the spouse was listed in the above table in any case where the subject had more than one brother (or one sister).

Card 16: Question 14: *"If you have had previous marriages, give a description of the appearance and disposition of each of your previous (spouses)."*

Only 7 men and 3 women had had a previous marriage, and none had been married more than twice. The first marriages of 6 of the 7 men and 2 of the 3 women terminated in divorce. Any more specific reference to this small number of cases would be unfair to the persons involved, since it might easily identify them to friends who know that they were subjects of my research.

II

Common sense tells us that wholesome family influences during childhood favor the development of a capacity to meet the more important situations of adult life, but even when common sense is backed by a good deal of shrewd observation it can do no better than to enable us to guess the particulars of this generalization. In a study of the problems of sex there at once arises a question as to whether specific determinants of adult adequacy of sex function are likely to be found in any of the more common types of early relationship to parents, brothers, and sisters. Is the so-called "Oedipus complex" likely to play an important role, for example, in determining a woman's orgasm capacity, and, if so, what does this imply as to principles to be followed by parents in the management of girl children? Can any type of childhood brother-sister relationship which is devoid of overt sexual features be of importance as a determinant of ultimate sex adjustments for either brother or sister? The specifically sexual reactive value of maleness for women and of femaleness for men may conceivably be in part determined during childhood by the physical attractiveness or unattractiveness of the parent of the opposite sex: is this possibility worth exploring? Does the child's estimate of the parent's mental qualities also enter into consideration here?

Before the tables of correlations are presented, it is desirable to stress the importance of a principle, violation of which renders most of the reports of psychoanalytic "research" in our domestic journals much less safe as guides to practical endeavor than are the findings of poets and playwrights who give artistic expression to their insights. It is this: *when a subjective datum has been obtained from another person by an observer, its description for purposes of correlation with other data must be as directly factual and as little interpretative as possible.* The good poet or the good playwright can give us many valuable things because he usually proceeds from his own direct experience to an interpretation of it, but the psychoanalyst of the type so largely represented in our journals gives us *interpretations of interpretations* rather than of undistorted facts. In a research of the kind presented here—which, of course, is not a psychoanalytic one—not all of the material in tables devoted to purely descriptive presentations of the subjects' verbal productions could be used for purposes of correlation without resorting to interpretative classifications. For this reason only categorical answers are used in what follows, since to do otherwise would be in violation of the principle just adduced.

2. The answers to question 6 of Card 16 (*Table 183*) refer to the physical appearance of the parent of the opposite sex. The answers fall into three groups: (1) those which allude exclusively to neutral qualities and qualities which the subject regards as attractive, (2) those which include allusion to unattractive qualities, and (3) those which contain no judgment by the subject as to whether the qualities listed were attractive or unattractive to him.

Table 191

Relation of Physical Attractiveness or Unattractiveness of the Parent of the Opposite Sex to Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole for Both Men and Women, and to the Orgasm Capacity of the Women.

A. (Men)

Physical Attractiveness or Unattractiveness of the Parent of Opposite Sex	*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*		
	*Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)**	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)**	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)**
1. Description of mother's physical appearance includes allusion to neutral and attractive qualities only (56 cases) .	27 (48.21%)	7 (12.50%)	22 (39.29%)
2. Description of mother's physical appearance includes allusion to unattractive qualities (13 cases) . . .	5 (38.46%)	1 (7.69%)	7 (53.85%)
3. Description of mother's physical appearance includes allusion to neutral qualities only (31 cases) .	19 (61.29%)	5 (16.13%)	7 (22.58%)
Total (100 cases) . .	51	13	36

* Satisfaction grades *A* and *B*, it will be remembered, indicate a relatively high degree of satisfaction with the marriage as a whole, grade *C* indicates a considerable degree of dissatisfaction, and grades *D* and *E* a serious degree of dissatisfaction. *A* and *B* are thrown together here, as are also *D* and *E*, thus giving us three instead of five groups for purposes of correlation.

B. (Women)

Physical Attractiveness or Unattractiveness of the Parent of Opposite Sex	*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage: Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)*	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
1. Description of father's physical appearance includes allusion to attractive qualities only (56 cases) . . .	28 (50.00%)	8 (14.29%)	20 (35.71%)
2. Description of father's physical appearance includes allusion to unattractive qualities (11 cases) . . .	1 (9.09%)	1 (9.09%)	9 (81.82%)
3. Description of father's physical appearance includes allusion to neutral qualities only (31 cases) .	15 (48.39%)	5 (16.13%)	11 (35.48%)
Total (98 cases) . .	44	14	40

C. (Correlations with Orgasm Capacity of Women)

	Present Orgasm Capacity: Adequate	*Inadequate*
1. Description of father's physical appearance includes allusion to attractive qualities only (56 cases)	27 (48.21%)	29 (51.79%)
2. Description of father's physical appearance includes allusion to unattractive qualities (11 cases)	6 (54.55%)	5 (45.45%)
3. Description of father's physical appearance includes allusion to neutral qualities only (31 cases)	20 (64.52%)	11 (35.48%)
Total (98 cases) . . .	53	45

3. Descriptions of the "dispositions" of the parents of the opposite sex fell into two groups, as is shown in the next table:

Table 192

Relation of Desirable or Undesirable Disposition Traits of the Parent of the Opposite Sex to Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole for Both Men and Women, and to the Orgasm Capacity of Women.

A. (Men)

Desirable or Undesirable Disposition Traits of the Parent of Opposite Sex	*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*		
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
1. Description of mother's disposition includes allusion to desirable traits only (39 cases) . .	24 (61.54%)	4 (10.26%)	11 (28.21%)
2. Description of mother's disposition includes allusion to undesirable traits (60 cases) . . .	27 (45.00%)	9 (15.00%)	24 (40.00%)
Total (99 cases) . .	51	13	35

B. (Women)

1. Description of father's disposition includes allusion to desirable traits only (15 cases) . .	8 (53.33%)	1 (6.67%)	6 (40.00%)
2. Description of father's disposition includes allusion to undesirable traits (82 cases) . . .	36 (43.90%)	13 (15.85%)	33 (40.24%)
Total (97 cases) . .	44	14	39

C. (Correlations with Orgasm Capacity of Women)

	Present Orgasm Capacity	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
1. Description of father's disposition includes allusion to desirable traits only (15 cases) . .	9 (60.00%)	6 (40.00%)
2. Description of father's disposition includes allusion to undesirable traits (82 cases) . .	44 (53.66%)	38 (46.34%)
Total (97 cases) . . .	53	44

4. The question as to which parent was preferred by the subject during childhood and adolescence ought to have been subdivided, since the answers show that such preference may undergo reversal, especially at about the beginning of puberty. This fault of method leaves us sufficiently categorical answers for our purposes here from only 79 of the men and 60 of the women.

Table 193

Relation of Childhood and Adolescent Preference of Parent to Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole for Both Men and Women, and to the Orgasm Capacity of Women.

A. (Men)

	Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage		
Childhood and Adolescent Preference of Parent	*Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)*	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
1. Fonder of mother (39 cases) .	17 (43.59%)	4 (10.26%)	18 (46.15%)
2. Fonder of father (20 cases) . .	12 (60.00%)	2 (10.00%)	6 (30.00%)
3. Equally fond of both parents (20 cases) . . .	14 (70.00%)	3 (15.00%)	3 (15.00%)
Total (79 cases) . .	43	9	27

B. (Women)

Childhood and Adolescent Preference of Parent	*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*		
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
1. Fonder of father (29 cases) . .	14 (48.28%)	3 (10.34%)	12 (41.38%)
2. Fonder of mother (20 cases) .	11 (55.00%)	4 (20.00%)	5 (25.00%)
3. Equally fond of both parents (11 cases) . . .	4 (36.36%)	4 (36.36%)	3 (27.27%)
Total (60 cases) . .	29	11	20

C. (Correlations with Orgasm Capacity of Women)

	Present Orgasm Capacity	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
1. Fonder of father (29 cases) .	14 (48.28%)	15 (51.72%)
2. Fonder of mother (20 cases) .	13 (65.00%)	7 (35.00%)
3. Equally fond of both parents (11 cases)	8 (72.73%)	3 (27.27%)
Total (60 cases) . . .	35	25

5. Two questions were asked concerning irritable or angry outbursts toward parents of the opposite sex and ensuing revulsions of feeling, but the answers to these show nothing that is suggestive when they are correlated with satisfaction grades or orgasm capacity. The answers listed in *Tables 170, 171, 172,* and *173* suggest that more detailed questions might elicit information of considerable value. The same is true of the questions concerning the degree of demonstrativeness that existed between our subjects and their parents during the formers' childhood and adolescence.

6. In the next table only those answers are considered in which it was definitely stated that the parents did or did not get along well together:

Table 194

Relation of Parental Harmony or Discord to Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole for Both Men and Women, and to the Orgasm Capacity of Women.

A. (Men)

Parental Harmony or Discord	*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*		
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
1. Parents got along well (44 cases) . . .	20 (45.45%)	4 (9.09%)	20 (45.45%)
2. Parents did not get along well (20 cases) . .	8 (40.00%)	5 (25.00%)	7 (35.00%)
Total (64 cases) . .	28	9	27

B. (Women)

1. Parents got along well (44 cases) . . .	24 (54.55%)	4 (9.09%)	16 (36.36%)
2. Parents did not get along well (21 cases) . .	7 (33.33%)	5 (23.81%)	9 (42.86%)
Total (65 cases) . .	31	9	25

C. (Correlations with Orgasm Capacity of Women)

	Present Orgasm Capacity	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
1. Parents got along well (44 cases)	24 (54.55%)	20 (45.45%)
2. Parents did not get along well (21 cases)	13 (61.91%)	8 (38.09%)
Total (65 cases) . . .	37	28

The parents of 10 men and 14 women had been separated or divorced at some time before the marriage of any of these subjects. The satisfaction grades for the entire

group of 100 men and 100 women and the orgasm capacity of the 100 women are included in the next table for purposes of comparison:

Table 195

Relation of Separation or Divorce of Parents to Subjects' Degree of Satisfaction with Their Own Marriage, and to the Orgasm Capacity of Women.

A. (Men)

Separation or Divorce of Parents	*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*		
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
1. Parents separated or divorced (10 cases) . .	4 (40.00%)	2 (20.00%)	4 (40.00%)
2. Satisfaction grades of all 100 men . . .	51 (51.00%)	13 (13.00%)	36 (36.00%)

B. (Women)

1. Parents separated or divorced (14 cases) . .	5 (35.71%)	1 (7.14%)	8 (57.14%)
2. Satisfaction grades of all 100 women. . .	45 (45.00%)	14 (14.00%)	41 (41.00%)

C. (Correlation with Orgasm Capacity of Women)

	Present Orgasm Capacity	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
1. Parents separated or divorced (14 cases)	8 (57.14%)	6 (42.86%)
2. Orgasm grades of all 100 women	54 (54.00%)	46 (46.00%)

7. The figures in the next table of correlations make us wish that a thousand instead of a hundred spouses of each sex had been studied. With only five women stating categorically that their husbands resemble their fathers, the figures for that particular entry are meaningless in themselves.

Table 196

Relation of Physical Similarity or Dissimilarity Between the Parent of the Opposite Sex and the Spouse to Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole, and to the Orgasm Capacity of Women.

A. (Men)

Physical Similarity or Dissimilarity Between the Parent of the Opposite Sex and the Spouse	*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*		
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
1. Wife physically like mother (17 cases) . . .	16 (94.12%)	1 (5.88%)	0 (0.00%)
2. Wife physically unlike mother (60 cases) . .	21 (35.00%)	11 (18.33%)	28 (46.67%)
3. Satisfaction grades for all 100 men . .	51 (51.00%)	13 (13.00%)	36 (36.00%)

B. (Women)

1. Husband physically like father (5 cases) . .	3 (60.00%)	0 (0.00%)	2 (40.00%)
2. Husband physically unlike father (58 cases) .	23 (39.66%)	9 (15.52%)	26 (44.83%)
3. Satisfaction grades for all 100 women . .	45 (45.00%)	14 (14.00%)	41 (41.00%)

C. (Correlations with Orgasm Capacity of Women)

	Present Orgasm Capacity	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
1. Husband physically like father (5 cases)	3 (60.00%)	2 (40.00%)
2. Husband physically unlike father (58 cases)	26 (44.83%)	32 (55.17%)
3. Orgasm grades of all 100 women	54 (54.00%)	46 (46.00%)

8. The figures in the above table suggest the possibility that physical likeness of spouse to parent of the opposite

sex may be a favorable factor in the marriages of both men and women. The findings in the next table suggest that this may likewise be true of mental resemblances:

Table 197

Relation of Mental Similarity or Dissimilarity Between the Parent of the Opposite Sex and the Spouse to Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole, and to the Orgasm Capacity of Women.

A. (Men)

Mental Similarity or Dissimilarity Between the Parent of the Opposite Sex and the Spouse	*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*		
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
1. Wife mentally like mother (15 cases) . . .	10 (66.67%)	1 (6.67%)	4 (26.67%)
2. Wife mentally unlike mother (53 cases) . .	26 (49.06%)	7 (13.21%)	20 (37.74%)
3. Satisfaction grades for all 100 men . .	51 (51.00%)	13 (13.00%)	36 (36.00%)

B. (Women)

1. Husband mentally like father (13 cases) . . .	7 (53.85%)	2 (15.38%)	4 (30.77%)
2. Husband mentally unlike father (57 cases) . .	22 (38.60%)	9 (15.79%)	26 (45.61%)
3. Satisfaction grades for all 100 women . .	45 (45.00%)	14 (14.00%)	41 (41.00%)

C. (Correlations with Orgasm Capacity of Women)

	Present Orgasm Capacity	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
1. Husband mentally like father (13 cases)	5 (38.46%)	8 (61.54%)
2. Husband mentally unlike father (57 cases)	31 (54.39%)	26 (45.61%)
3. Orgasm grades for all 100 women	54 (54.00%)	46 (46.00%)

III

An adequately extensive study of the brother-sister relationship would have to deal with a great variety of situations. Even if we had to deal with only those cases in which there is but one child of each sex in the family, several varieties of age-difference situations would have to be considered; but when the subjects of a research have both older and younger brothers or sisters the need of a very large material is still greater. There would be an appallingly large number of different situations to consider if we were to include the cases in which unrelated children of widowed parents who re-marry are brought up together in one family with the addition of a third "set" of subsequently appearing half-brothers and half-sisters. As a matter of fact, one not infrequently encounters a woman who gives a history of having been brought up with full brothers, half-brothers, and stepbrothers, or a man with a similar history as to sisters.

Where only 200 cases in all have been studied, only a limited classification is, of course, possible; but some of the material in the following tables is sufficiently suggestive to justify its presentation:

Table 198

Relation of the Presence or Absence of a Brother-Sister Relationship During Childhood and Adolescence to Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole, and to the Orgasm Capacity of Women.

A. (*Men*)

Presence or Absence of a Brother-Sister Relationship During Childhood and Adolescence	*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*		
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
1. Had no sisters (26 cases) . .	10 (38.46%)	6 (23.08%)	10 (38.46%)
2. Had one or more sisters (74 cases)	41 (55.41%)	7 (9.46%)	26 (35.14%)
Total (100 cases) . .	51	13	36

B. (Women)

1. Had no brothers (34 cases) . .	11 (32.35%)	7 (20.59%)	16 (47.06%)
2. Had one or more brothers (66 cases) . . .	34 (51.52%)	7 (10.61%)	25 (37.88%)
Total (100 cases) . . .	45	14	41

C. (Correlations with Orgasm Capacity of Women)

	Present Orgasm Capacity	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
1. Had no brothers (34 cases) .	21 (61.76%)	13 (38.24%)
2. Had one or more brothers (66 cases)	33 (50.00%)	33 (50.00%)
Total (100 cases)	54	46

Table 199

Relation of Physical Attractiveness or Unattractiveness of Brothers to Sisters and Sisters to Brothers to Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole and, in the Case of Women, to Their Present Orgasm Capacity.

A. (Men)

Physical Attractiveness or Unattractiveness of Brothers to Sisters and Sisters to Brothers	*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*		
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
1. Description of sisters' physical appearance includes allusion to attractive qualities only (21 cases) . . .	15 (71.43%)	1 (4.76%)	5 (23.81%)

Physical Attractiveness or Unattractiveness of Brothers to Sisters and Sisters to Brothers	*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*		
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
2. Description of sisters' physical appearance includes allusion to unattractive qualities (12 cases) . . .	5 (41.67%)	1 (8.33%)	6 (50.00%)
3. Description of sisters' physical appearance includes allusion to neutral qualities only (41 cases) .	21 (51.22%)	5 (12.20%)	15 (36.58%)
Total (74 cases) . .	41	7	26
B. (Women)			
1. Description of brothers' physical appearance includes allusion to attractive qualities only (24 cases) . .	11 (45.83%)	1 (4.17%)	12 (50.00%)
2. Description of brothers' physical appearance includes allusion to unattractive qualities (8 cases) . . .	5 (62.50%)	1 (12.50%)	2 (25.00%)
3. Description of brothers' physical appearance includes allusion to neutral qualities only (34 cases) . . .	18 (52.94%)	5 (14.71%)	11 (32.35%)
Total (66 cases) . .	34	7	25

C. (Correlations with Orgasm Capacity of Women)

	Present Orgasm Capacity	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
1. Description of brothers' physical appearance includes allusion to attractive qualities only (24 cases)	10 (41.67%)	14 (58.33%)
2. Description of brothers' physical appearance includes allusion to unattractive qualities (8 cases)	8 (100.00%)	0 (0.00%)
3. Description of brothers' physical appearance includes allusion to neutral qualities only (34 cases)	15 (44.12%)	19 (55.88%)
Total (66 cases)	33	33

Table 200

Relation of Desirable or Undesirable Disposition Traits of Brothers (or Sisters) to Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole and, in the Case of Women, to Their Present Orgasm Capacity.

A. (Men)

Desirable or Undesirable Disposition Traits of Brothers or Sisters	*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*		
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
1. Description of sisters' disposition includes allusion to desirable traits only (17 cases) . .	11 (64.71%)	0 (0.00%)	6 (35.29%)
2. Description of sisters' disposition includes allusion to undesirable traits (56 cases) . . .	29 (51.79%)	7 (12.50%)	20 (35.71%)
3. Answer not classifiable (1 case)	1 (100.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Total (74 cases) . .	41	7	26

B. (Women)

Desirable or Undesirable Disposition Traits of Brothers or Sisters	*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*		
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
1. Description of brothers' disposition includes allusion to desirable traits only (6 cases) . .	4 (66.67%)	0 (0.00%)	2 (33.33%)
2. Description of brothers' disposition includes allusion to undesirable traits (57 cases) . . .	29 (50.88%)	6 (10.53%)	22 (38.60%)
3. Answers not classifiable (3 cases)	1 (33.33%)	1 (33.33%)	1 (33.33%)
Total (66 cases) . .	34	7	25

C. (Correlations with Orgasm Capacity of Women)

	Present Orgasm Capacity	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
1. Description of brothers' disposition includes allusion to desirable traits only (6 cases) . .	4 (66.67%)	2 (33.33%)
2. Description of brothers' disposition includes allusion to undesirable traits (57 cases) . .	28 (49.12%)	29 (50.88%)
3. Answers not classifiable (3 cases)	1 (33.33%)	2 (66.67%)
4. Had no brothers (34 cases) .	21 (61.76%)	13 (38.24%)
Total (100 cases) . . .	54	46

IV

The findings in the above tables of correlations become considerably more suggestive when we examine them as a whole. This is particularly true of the answers of men, which are more categorical than those of the women, and therefore more safely available for this purpose. Nine

different findings which were obtained by the questions relating to parents and sisters are shown in these tables to be associated with materially higher percentages of cases with *A–B* satisfaction grades than the 51 percent that holds good for the entire group of 100 men. The meaning of the following summary will be easily apparent to any person who will simply bear in mind that 51 percent of all the men of my research were sufficiently well satisfied with their marriage as a whole to secure an *A* or a *B* satisfaction grade.

Summary of Correlations (Men)

Types of Answers Relating to Parents or Sisters Which Were Associated with a Higher than Average Percent of Cases with A–B Satisfaction Grades.

1. Alluded to only neutral qualities in describing mother's physical appearance. (61.29 percent of men giving such answers had *A–B* satisfaction grades.)
2. Alluded to only attractive traits in describing mother's disposition. (61.54 percent of men giving such answers had *A–B* satisfaction grades.)
3. Equally fond of father and mother. (70 percent of men giving such answers had *A–B* satisfaction grades.)
4. Fonder of father than of mother. (60 percent of men giving such answers had *A–B* satisfaction grades.)
5. Wife is like his mother physically. (94.12 percent of men giving such answers had *A–B* satisfaction grades.)
6. Wife is like his mother as to mental qualities. (66.67 percent of men giving such answers had *A–B* satisfaction grades.)
7. Had one or more sisters. (55.41 percent of men giving such answers had *A–B* satisfaction grades.)
8. Alluded to only attractive qualities in describing any sister's physical appearance. (71.43 percent of men giving such answers had *A–B* satisfaction grades.)
9. Alluded to only attractive traits in describing any sister's disposition. (64.71 percent of men giving such answers had *A–B* satisfaction grades.)

In reading the next summary it must be borne in mind that, whereas 51 percent of all the men had *A–B* satisfaction grades, only 45 percent of all women were in the *A–B* satis-

faction group. A roughly approximate allowance for this difference can be made by adding 6.00 to each of the percent figures for women. If "father" is substituted for "mother," "brother" for "sister," and *vice versa,* it will be seen that points 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 9 in the summary for men are the equivalents of points 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 9 in the following summary for women:

Summary of Correlations (Women)

1. Alluded to only attractive qualities in describing the father's physical appearance. (50 percent of women giving such answers had *A–B* satisfaction grades.) *
2. Alluded to only neutral qualities in describing father's physical appearance. (48.39 percent of women giving such answers had *A–B* satisfaction grades.)
3. Alluded to only attractive traits in describing father's disposition. (53.33 percent of women giving such answers had *A–B* satisfaction grades.)
4. Fonder of mother than of father. (55 percent of women giving such answers had *A–B* satisfaction grades.)
5. Husband is like her father physically. (60 percent of women giving such answers had *A–B* satisfaction grades.)
6. Husband is like her father as to mental qualities. (53.85 percent of women giving such answers had *A–B* satisfaction grades.)
7. Had one or more brothers. (51.52 percent of women giving such answers had *A–B* satisfaction grades.)
8. Alluded to only unattractive qualities in describing any brother's physical appearance. (62.50 percent of women giving such answers had *A–B* satisfaction grades.)
9. Alluded to only neutral qualities in describing any brother's physical appearance. (52.94 percent of women giving such answers had *A–B* satisfaction grades.)
10. Alluded to only attractive traits in describing any brother's disposition. (66.67 percent of women giving such answers had *A–B* satisfaction grades.)

Summary of Correlations (Women)

Types of Answers Relating to Parents or Brothers Which Were Associated with a Higher than Average Per-

* Only 11 women alluded to any unattractive quality whatsoever in describing the father's physical appearance, and 9 of these belong in the seriously dissatisfied *D–E* group. One had grade *C* as to general satisfaction and only 1 came within the *A–B* group.

*cent of Cases with a History of Adequate Orgasm Capacity.**

1. Alluded to only neutral qualities in describing father's physical appearance. (64.52 percent of women giving such answers had an adequate orgasm capacity.)
2. Fonder of mother than of father. (65 percent of women giving such answers had an adequate orgasm capacity.)
3. Equally fond of father and mother. (72.73 percent of women giving such answers had an adequate orgasm capacity.)
4. Had no brothers. (61.76 percent of women giving such answers had an adequate orgasm capacity.)
5. Alluded to only unattractive qualities in describing physical appearance of any brother. (100 percent of women giving such answers had an adequate orgasm capacity.)
6. Alluded to only attractive traits in describing disposition of any brother. (66.67 percent of women giving such answers had an adequate orgasm capacity.)

Summary of Correlations (Women)

Types of Answers Relating to Parents or Brothers Which Were Associated with a Lower than Average Percent of Cases with a History of Adequate Orgasm Capacity.†

1. Alluded to only attractive physical qualities in describing father's physical appearance. (48.21 percent of women giving such answers had an adequate orgasm capacity.)
2. Fonder of father than of mother. (48.28 percent of women giving such answers had an adequate orgasm capacity.)
3. Husband is unlike her father physically. (44.83 percent of women giving such answers had an adequate orgasm capacity.)
4. Husband is like her father as to mental qualities. (38.46 percent of women giving such answers had an adequate orgasm capacity.)
5. Alluded to attractive qualities only in describing physical appearance of any brother. (41.67 percent of women giving such answers had an adequate orgasm capacity.)
6. Alluded to neutral qualities only in describing physical appearance of any brother. (44.12 percent of women giving such answers had an adequate orgasm capacity.)

* 54 percent of all women gave a history of relatively adequate orgasm capacity.

† 54 percent of all women gave a history of relatively adequate orgasm capacity.

CHAPTER XII

The Arousal and Satisfaction of Sex Curiosity

I

The arousal and satisfaction of sex curiosity during childhood is a matter about which the adult is likely to have a very uncertain memory. It appears from the records that what is recalled during a session given over to even the most careful retrospection may be a contradictory mass of fragments which will not fit together into a consistent history of this phase of the child's mental life as a whole. I found, for example, that I could quite honestly say that my first knowledge of the fact that children are born of their mothers' bodies as a consequence of copulation came to me at 12, when a boy friend gave me a very realistic and decidedly unpleasant account of human reproduction; but I could also say, in another moment, that before I was 6 another little boy enlightened me and that I understood him. I can scarcely remember a time when I didn't know that domestic animals copulate and that the females bear young in consequence, and yet the episode at 12 comes back to my mind in full context, with a vivid recollection of how surprised I was to learn that babies grow inside their mothers, that even nice men and women copulate, etc. It seems to me that until I was 12, I somehow managed to inhibit a frank acknowledgment to myself that I knew what I knew about sex matters. This seemed to be true of many of the men and women who were the subjects of my research. There could be no doubt of their desire to recall as fully and as accurately as possible whatever might be required to answer my questions, but even some of those in whose honesty I had and still have almost unlimited confi-

dence repeatedly contradicted themselves—apparently without realizing it.

At first it seemed best to take each record as a whole and to tabulate reconciled findings. With this in mind Mrs. Terry, my assistant, spent a great deal of time carefully making the necessary cross references from answer to answer in each of the 200 records. Her work was well worth doing, since it brings out in interesting detail the inconsistencies of recall to which I have just alluded; but in the end I decided to tabulate the answers to each question as they were given, since, after all, I have undertaken to present as factually as possible, without admixture of inferences and interpretations, what answers each question elicited and how many persons of each sex gave such and such answers. This explains the obvious discrepancies which exist among the totals of the various tables in the present chapter. For example, one would expect that the answers to the question "Did your parents ever give you any information about sex matters?" would establish as a final datum just how many parents ever did, and how many never did, discuss such matters; but any person who examines the succeeding tabulations will find that this is a fluctuating datum. This was the first of the questions which specifically referred to the parents as a source of sex information, and 40 of the men and 51 of the women stated categorically that their parents had never given them such information; but in answer to another of the questions, 42 men and 40 women stated that their parents had never given them sex information. Of course such conflicting totals will make more difficult the task of exploring for suggestive correlations, but they need not necessarily render it a fruitless undertaking: what is recalled as a past experience can be a valuable subjective datum—a *fact* to be dealt with as such—and yet be historically untrue. I am attempting to deal here as objectively with subjective data

as I would with any other mode of organic response—to appraise answers as self-labelled reactions to stimuli (questions) which were kept constant for all cases. No matter how complex, or how different from case to case, the chains of inner excitations that were touched off by these external stimuli may have been, we can be sure of the initial and the terminal members of the something more than 80,000 stimulus-response sequences that were classified for presentation in the present volume: we know what the questions were, under what conditions they were asked and what answers they elicited. Assuming that the answers were honestly given, their value for purposes of psychobiological research must be estimated in terms of their significance as subjective data rather than in terms of their correspondence to what may be historically true of the past lives of the 200 spouses. Both John and Richard may have been given information about sex matters by their parents during childhood, but if John honestly affirms and Richard honestly denies the fact in adult life, they are not, psychologically, in the same circumstance as regards this matter.

Table 201

Card 17: Question 1: *"Can you recall when you first became curious about sex matters?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Yes	56	59
2. Vague, uncertain, and negative answers	44	35
3. Was given information before curiosity came	0	1
4. Was never very curious	0	2
5. Remembers no curiosity	0	3
Total	100	100

Table 202

Card 17: Question 2: *"How old were you?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. First curiosity came "pretty early"	0	1
2. Was "always curious"	0	1
3. Less than 6 years old	21	20
4. Six to 11 years old, inclusive	61	41
5. Twelve to 15 years old, inclusive	9	19
6. Sixteen to 20 years old, inclusive	2	3
7. Had no curiosity; had no real curiosity; no curiosity remembered	3	6
8. "Don't remember"	4	9
Total	100	100

Table 203

Card 17: Question 3: *"What aroused your curiosity?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. The birth of babies; where babies come from, etc.	13	28
2. The birth of puppies	0	1
3. Playing with dolls	0	1
4. Weddings	0	2
5. "Genitals;" "Sex in general"	1	0
6. The sex parts of girls	13	1
7. The sex parts of older girls or of women	6	0
8. The sex parts of boys	1	1
9. The sex parts of older boys or of men	1	0
10. Taking care of baby brother and noticing the difference between his sex organ and her own	0	1
11. The sex parts of his sister	2	0
12. The sex parts of his mother	1	0
13. The sex parts of the father	1	2
14. His own erections	5	0
15. His own sex anatomy	6	0
16. The menstruation of girl friends	0	1
17. His own accidentally induced orgasm	1	0
18. Accidentally induced self-stimulation of genitals	1	1
19. Having her genitals stimulated by another girl	0	1

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
20. Her own masturbation	0	1
21. The masturbation of other boys	3	0
22. The interest of a girl in another boy's exposed sex organ	1	0
23. Finding father's genital suspensory	0	1
24. The sex behavior of animals	2	2
25. "Copulation" (details not given)	3	0
26. The sex behavior of his parents	1	0
27. Obscene words, jokes, and pictures	0	3
28. The talk of other persons	11	15
29. Information received from her brother	0	2
30. Information received from her mother	0	2
31. Reading	2	2
32. Being taught to cover and to shun the subject of genitals	1	0
33. Urine and faeces	0	1
34. Her own engagement	0	1
35. "Was always curious"	0	1
36. Was informed before curiosity came	0	1
37. No curiosity remembered; was never curious	4	6
38. "Don't know"	20	22
Total	100	100

Card 17: Question 4: *"What were you curious about?"*

The answers to this question were essentially the same as those given to *Question 3* (see above).

Table 204

Card 17: Question 5: *"How or from whom did you receive the earliest information about sex matters which you recall?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
1. Mother; stepmother; foster-mother	11	26
2. Father	4	1
3. "Parents"	1	0
4. Grandmother	0	1
5. Aunt	0	2
6. Sister	0	2
7. Brother	1	3

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
8. Girl contemporaries	1	33
9. Older girl	1	6
10. Boy contemporaries	36	2
11. Older boy	9	0
12. "Other children"—sex not specified	4	6
13. Physician	1	1
14. Servant	0	3
15. Nurse	0	1
16. The obscene talk or behavior of other children	18	4
17. Observing animals	1	0
18. Picked it up on a farm	0	1
19. From books	2	4
20. Seeing the opera "Faust"	0	1
21. From having sex intercourse at 16	0	1
22. Received no information	0	2
23. "Don't know"	10	0
Total	100	100

Table 205

Card 17: Question 6: *"What was the nature of this information?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. The birds and flowers illustration	1	5
2. The mother's (but not the father's) function in reproduction	12	24
3. That babies are the result of copulation	8	10
4. Vague information about copulation	6	5
5. More or less clear information about copulation	13	4
6. That parents copulate	3	0
7. Full and adequate information about sex matters	2	2
8. The anatomy of men and their function in copulation	0	1
9. The difference between male and female	2	1
10. Explanation of the menstrual function	0	5
11. "Nothing that made it repulsive"	0	1
12. Meaning of the folk words for copulation, sex parts, etc.	0	2
13. Information came through having actual sight of girl's sex parts	6	0

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
14. Saw pictures of naked women	1	0
15. Saw a cat have kittens	0	1
16. Saw sex parts of animals	0	1
Incorrect or Repellently Presented Information		
17. Repellently blunt statement about babies and copulation	0	1
18. About babies: led to believe it was all nasty and shameful	0	1
19. Crude and inaccurate information as to how babies are born	0	1
20. That having a baby is a trying ordeal	0	1
21. That babies come out of the mothers' stomachs: a painful and bloody ordeal	1	2
22. Babies are born through the navel	0	3
23. Babies come out of the breasts	0	1
24. The skin shed by a man and woman sleeping together forms a baby	0	1
25. Father urinates into mother's vagina to make a baby	1	0
26. Father makes babies by copulation with mother per rectum	1	0
27. Babies are made by parents rubbing navels together	1	0
28. "On your wedding night your husband does something awful to you"	0	1
29. Victor Hugo's account of the rape of a young girl	0	1
30. A nasty description of copulation in an obscene poem concerning the sex experiences of a young girl	0	1
31. A little girl gave her a demonstration of how copulation is performed	0	1
32. That copulation is per rectum	1	0
33. Brother demonstrated to her their sexual differences	0	1
34. "A horrid and salacious" account of the sex act	0	1
35. Nasty jokes about copulation	0	1
36. The inaccurate and obscene explanations of friends	0	1
37. A little boy exhibited his sex organ and showed how he urinated	0	1

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—Men	Women
38. The exhibitions of little boys at school	0	1
39. Touched sex organs with a little boy	0	1
40. A vague account of copulation, involving the use of the folk word for this act	0	1
41. Was told that a friend's brother had a tail	0	1
42. Witnessed the masturbation of other children	0	1
43. Witnessed the masturbation of other boys	2	0
44. Genitals stimulated by a little girl	0	1
45. Was taught to masturbate by another boy	2	0
46. Warned against masturbation by parents	8	0
47. Moral precepts concerning the relation of the sexes	1	0
48. About copulation per anum with other boys	1	0
49. About fellatio, by another boy who wished him to do it	1	0
50. About sex perversions in general	1	0
51. "General obscenity"	9	0
52. "General misinformation"	3	1
53. About his own sex organ	2	0
54. About male sex organs	1	0
55. That babies come from roses	0	1
56. That angels bring babies	0	1
57. First information gained by having sex intercourse with boy friend at 16	0	1
58. "Don't know;" "Don't remember;" "Received no information," etc.	10	8
Total	100	100

Table 206

Card 17: Question 7: *"How old were you (when first information about sex matters was received)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—Men	Women
1. Informatior came gradually	1	0
2. "Seems always to have known about such matters"	1	2
3. Less than 6	12	8
4. Six to 11, inclusive	68	52
5. Twelve to 15, inclusive	13	22
6. Sixteen to 20, inclusive	3	11
7. After 20	0	2
8. "Don't know"	2	3
Total	100	100

Table 207

Card 17: Question 8: *"What do you recall as to the effects of this information upon you?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Wonder; surprise; fascination; pleasurable excitement; sense of gratified curiosity; interest; curiosity aroused; pride; felt grown-up; pleased	37	29
2. Took it more or less as matter of fact; no particular effect	20	17
3. It excited sex desire	6	0
4. It caused an increase of masturbation	3	0
5. Enjoyed having other little girl tickle her genitals	0	1
6. Found repetition of first accidental self-stimulation pleasant	0	1
7. Much in love with the boy who gave her first information at 16 by copulating with her	0	1
8. Embarrassed but curious	0	2
9. Felt shame, but had pride in growing up	0	1
10. Felt solemn	1	0
11. Started looking for babies in roses	0	1
12. Fear	1	2
13. Fear of masturbation	1	0
14. Shocked; revolted; incredulous and repelled	23	31
15. Sense of guilt; wished to conceal her knowledge from her elders	0	5
16. Depression	0	1
17. Incredulity not involving repulsion	0	3
18. "Don't remember"	8	5
Total	100	100

Table 208

Card 17: Question 9: *"Did your parents ever give you any information about sex matters?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Mother or her substitute	19	43
2. Father	23	1
3. Both parents	18	5
4. Neither parent	40	51
Total	100	100

Card 17: Question 10: *"Your father? Your mother? Both?"*

The answers to this question are included in the list of answers to *Question 9* in *Table 208.*

Table 209

Card 17: Question 11: *"What was the nature of this information (received from parents)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Factual and fairly adequate information about the essentials of human sex functions	12	13
2. That babies are born of their mothers' bodies	2	15
3. The anatomy of both sexes	3	1
4. The birds and flowers illustration	1	4
5. Was given a book to read	3	4
6. Was told about menstruation only	0	9
7. Vague and inadequate information	14	8
8. Was given information by parents after he knew all about sex matters	3	0
9. Warnings against masturbation	21	1
10. Warnings against permitting boys to take liberties	0	2
11. Warnings against marital copulation: must not be excessive; is immoral except for purposes of reproduction; is a great burden to a woman; is a disagreeable duty owed by wives to husbands; husbands are lustful beasts	0	5
12. Misinformation about the birth of babies	3	1
13. Parents gave no information	38	37
Total	100	100

Table 210

Card 17: Question 12: *"Was it (sex information by parents) given voluntarily or as a result of questions from you?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Voluntarily	43	27
2. As a result of questions	18	31
3. No information received from parents	38	40
4. "Don't remember;" inconclusive answers, etc.	1	2
Total	100	100

Table 211

Card 17: Question 13: *"If you went to your father or mother with these (sexual) matters, did you meet with encouragement? Rebuff?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Encouragement	12	15
2. Neither encouragement nor rebuff	9	9
3. Encouragement from mother, rebuff from father	1	0
4. Was encouraged to ask questions, but was repelled by parents' stiffness	0	1
5. Encouragement, but answers were incomplete	0	1
6. Encouragement, but parents were embarrassed	0	1
7. Met with embarrassment	0	1
8. Encouragement, but was reluctant to ask	0	2
9. Mother answered questions but was reticent	1	1
10. Embarrassment and evasion	5	1
11. Evasion	7	8
12. Was given inadequate answers	2	1
13. Was told lies	6	0
14. Was met with resistance	0	1
15. Was rebuffed	5	16
16. Would have been rebuffed	0	1
17. Never went to parents with questions about sex matters	51	41
18. Inconclusive answers	1	0
Total	100	100

Table 212

Card 17: Question 14: *"Did he or she (parents) answer your questions truthfully? Evasively?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Truthfully	17	23
2. Truthfully but inadequately	8	6
3. Evasively	17	23
4. Untruthfully	8	3
5. Parent refused to answer	1	1
6. Never went to parents with such questions	47	39
7. "Don't remember;" inconclusive answers, etc.	2	5
Total	100	100

Table 213

Card 17: Question 15: *"Did he or she (parents) put you off with the stork or other stories?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	44	54
2. Not after a very early age	2	0
3. Was given the stork story; the stork and doctors; the stork and finding the baby in a stump; the stork bites the mother in the leg and the baby appears	19	19
4. Babies come in a bird cage	0	1
5. Babies come in baskets	1	1
6. Babies are found in roses	0	1
7. Baby was found in a pile of iron ore	1	0
8. Babies grow on trees	0	1
9. Babies are bought in stores	1	0
10. Babies are brought by the doctor	8	6
11. Santa Claus brings babies	1	0
12. Babies are "sent"	0	1
13. Mystical religious explanations of the appearance of babies	2	1
14. Didn't ask the question	19	10
15. Was told nothing	0	5
16. "Don't remember;" "Don't know," etc.	2	0
Total	100	100

Table 214

Card 17: Question 16: *"Did your parents speak to you on these (sex) matters more than once? If so, how frequently? Until you were how old?"* *

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Parents never spoke to subject about sex matters	35	36
2. Parents never spoke of them voluntarily	0	5
3. Parents never spoke of these matters more than once	14	25
4. Parents spoke of these matters more than once	51	33
5. "Don't remember"	0	1
Total	100	100

* This question was really three in one, with the result that so few of the subjects answered all parts of it that nothing more could be made of the

Table 215

Card 17: Question 17: *"Was the information (about sex matters) received from your parents helpful? Harmful? Neither?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. More or less helpful	21	23
2. Inadequate	0	9
3. Neither helpful nor harmful	17	15
4. Early information helpful, later information harmful	0	1
5. Discouraging	1	0
6. Slightly harmful	6	1
7. Both helpful and harmful	6	3
8. Harmful	4	8
9. Parents gave no information	42	40
10. Inconclusive answers	3	0
Total	100	100

Table 216

Card 17: Question 18: *"Did it (sex information given by parents) satisfy your curiosity at that time?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Yes	18	28
2. To some extent, but not fully	3	2
3. No	25	28
4. Knew about sex matters already	8	0
5. Had no curiosity	5	1
6. Parents gave no information	40	41
7. Inconclusive answers	1	0
Total	100	100

answers than is given in the table. It is a bit of bad methodology to compound questions in this way when oral answers are sought.

Table 217

Card 17: Question 19: *"Did it (sex information from parents) stimulate your curiosity and cause you to seek information elsewhere?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Yes	17	19
2. Caused him to parade his information to others	1	0
3. Caused him to seek sex experience	1	0
4. No	39	35
5. Parents gave no information	41	39
6. Inconclusive answers	1	7
Total	100	100

Table 218

Card 18: Question 1: *"At what age did you first learn that children are born of their mothers' bodies?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "Seem always to have known it"	3	4
2. "Very young"	1	0
3. Knowledge came gradually	3	2
4. Less than 6 years old	8	9
5. Six to 11, inclusive	45	44
6. Twelve to 15, inclusive	19	22
7. Sixteen to 20, inclusive	2	9
8. "Don't know;" "Can't remember," etc.	19	10
Total	100	100

Table 219

Card 18: Question 2: *"Who told you (that babies are born of their mothers' bodies)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Mother; foster-mother; stepmother	19	29
2. Father	6	0
3. Grandmother	0	1

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
4. Aunt	0	3
5. Brother	1	3
6. Sister	0	2
7. Girl contemporaries	1	20
8. Boy contemporaries	26	1
9. "Other children"—sex not specified	0	5
10. Teacher	2	0
11. Governess	0	1
12. Servant	0	1
13. A young woman	0	1
14. Learned it at college	0	1
15. Learned it from reading	6	8
16. Inferred it from the behavior of animals	3	0
17. Inferred it	0	3
18. Realized it during engagement	0	1
19. Picked it up on the street	3	0
20. "Various sources"	1	0
21. "Nobody;" "Don't remember," etc.	32	20
Total	100	100

Table 220

Card 18: Question 3: *"How did this information (that babies are born of their mothers' bodies) affect you?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Pleased	2	11
2. Interested; curious	11	17
3. Took it as a matter of fact; no particular effect	38	24
4. Wonder; awe; surprise	4	8
5. Went out and told all his friends	1	0
6. Was sexually stimulated	1	0
7. Incredulous	9	2
8. It seemed ridiculous	1	0
9. Felt that there was a similarity between his mother and a whore whom he had seen	1	0
10. Had a tendency to sheer off from the fact	1	0
11. Angry	0	1
12. Wondered if she was pregnant	0	2
13. Unpleasantly affected	2	6

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—Men	Women
14. Felt it was not a matter to be discussed; that it was illicit knowledge	0	2
15. Frightened; felt fear	0	3
16. Shocked; repelled; horrified; disgusted	12	13
17. "Don't remember"	17	11
Total	100	100

Table 221

Card 18: Question 4: *"Did you have any suspicions or impressions that fathers have anything to do with the appearance of babies in the family?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—Men	Women
1. No	40	46
2. Had a more or less vague impression that fathers played a role	17	3
3. Thought pregnancy due to being kissed on mouth by a male	0	2
4. Yes	36	37
5. "Don't remember;" inconclusive answers	7	12
Total	100	100

Table 222

Card 18: Question 5: *"If so, what were your suspicions as to the father's part in bringing babies into the world?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—Men	Women
1. Had full and correct information	9	8
2. Fairly accurate guesses and impressions	7	0
3. Vague idea that father plays some role	24	19
4. Fathers have the same relations with mothers that men have with whores	1	0
5. The fully developed child passes from father's to mother's body	1	0
6. Testicles leave the father's body and contribute to the formation of the baby within the mother	2	0

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
7. The baby comes out dangling from the end of the father's sex organ	1	0
8. Father urinates into the mother	4	1
9. Pregnancy due to copulation per rectum	1	0
10. Pregnancy due to copulation per navel	1	0
11. Pregnancy due to father and mother rubbing navels	1	0
12. Skin shed by parents in bed forms baby	0	1
13. The mother swallows a peach seed (impression gained from the flowers illustration)	1	0
14. Pregnancy due to being kissed by males	1	6
15. God sends babies	1	2
16. Fathers are there merely to support the children	0	2
17. Had no theory	34	50
18. "Don't remember;" inconclusive answers	11	11
Total	100	100

Table 223

Card 18: Question 6: *"Please give an account of any curiosity that you may have had about the birth of babies, the sex parts of boys and girls, or the sex behavior of human beings before you were 10 years of age."*

A. Men's Answers

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Where babies come from	28	
2. Pregnancy	2	
3. The birth of animals	2	
4. The sex behavior of animals	8	
5. The sex parts of girls	45	
6. The sex parts of older girls or of women	10	
7. The sex parts of sisters	6	
8. The sex parts of mother	3	
9. The sex parts of boys	16	
10. The sex parts of older boys or men	2	
11. The sex parts of father	3	
12. Copulation	21	

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
13. What people talked about	4	
14. His own erections	5	
15. His own sex anatomy	3	
16. The masturbation of other boys	5	
17. His own accidentally induced orgasm	1	
18. His own sensations from handling his sex organ	6	
19. Women's breasts	4	
20. Circumcision	1	
21. Seeing a whore and wondering about her	1	
22. The taste of urine	1	
23. Wanted to see an orgasm	1	
24. "Genitals"	5	
25. The alleged homosexual practises of men	1	
26. The homosexual practises of his playmates	3	
27. Practising fellatio on his reluctant brother	1	
28. The sex behavior of adults	2	
29. Nasty words	2	
30. Why it was necessary for him and his sister to sleep, undress, etc., apart	1	
31. The function of the human sex organs	2	
32. Desire to experience the sex act	1	
33. Interest in his own exhibitionism	3	
34. Just generally curious	2	
35. Knew everything and was not curious	2	
36. "Don't remember"	29	
Total *	232	

B. Women's Answers

1. Where babies come from	27
2. The fact that milk is formed in the body	1
3. The appearance of pregnant women	1
4. The alleged fact that babies come from the mother's stomach	1
5. Why a woman goes to bed to have a baby	1
6. The father's part in reproduction	1
7. Nursing babies	1
8. Whether it is true that women have milk only when they have babies	1

* This large total is due to the fact that many of the 100 men gave answers which conformed to more than a single one of the above listed types of answers.

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
9. That the insertion of the male sex organ makes babies		1
10. Why mothers are ill when they have babies		1
11. Her own genitals		1
12. Sex parts of another girl		2
13. About menstruation		2
14. Comparing sex organs with another girl		1
15. The growth of girls' breasts		1
16. The appearance of pubic hair		1
17. Differences in sex anatomy of boys and girls		4
18. The sex parts of boys		10
19. The sex parts of father		1
20. Difference between her father and herself		1
21. Brother's sex organ		1
22. Brother's circumcision		1
23. Wished to see parents' sex parts		1
24. The sex organs of men		1
25. Drawings of nude men and women		1
26. Wondered if everybody is made alike		1
27. Nasty words and pictures in privies		1
28. Pictures of sex organs		1
29. Sex words		1
30. What various obscene words meant		1
31. Meaning of the folk word for copulation		2
32. About navels		1
33. Little boys standing up to urinate		1
34. A boy's sex organ; felt humble because she had none		1
35. Wondered if she would have a sex organ like brother when she grew up		1
36. Wondered if her clitoris would grow into a sex organ like brother's and father's		1
37. Trying to urinate like little boys		1
38. Had an impulse to exhibit herself to a boy whom she liked		1
39. Listening to hear if parents were "having any fun"		1
40. The behavior of a married couple in a bedroom		1
41. The sex behavior of a little boy and a little girl		1
42. Wondered why older boy wished her to lie on couch with him		1
43. The possibility that babies come from oral intercourse		1
44. What passes from male to female; unpleasant to think that it is urine		1

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
45. Tales of girls being raped		1
46. Copulation		1
47. The actual technique of copulation		1
48. Tales of seduction in novels		1
49. The meaning of suggestive remarks by boys		1
50. The sex behavior of animals		2
51. Interests and curiosities were autoerotic rather than heteroerotic		3
52. Curiosity satisfied before it was aroused		1
53. Was afraid of sex all her life		1
54. A vague interest, being fearful that anybody might have a baby at any time		1
55. Was angry with parents for telling her such a story when they informed her about sex matters		1
56. Was angry with father when babies appeared		1
57. Rather disbelieved it when she heard about copulation		1
58. Didn't like the idea of sex relations and dismissed it.		1
59. Curiosity was much repressed		1
60. Didn't have much curiosity		1
61. Remembers no curiosity before 10		39
62. Curiosity and its satisfaction came with copulation at 16		1
63. Inconclusive answers		3
Total *		147

Table 224

Card 18: Question 7: *"Did this (sex) curiosity continue until you reached puberty or did it die out for a few years before you reached puberty?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Lapse of curiosity from 5 until 12	1	1
2. Abatement of curiosity from 5 until puberty	1	0
3. Abatement of curiosity from 6 until 10	1	2
4. Abatement of curiosity from 6 until 12	1	0

* As was the case with men, the answers of many of the women conformed to more than a single one of the above listed types of answers.

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
5. Lapse of curiosity from 7 or 8 until puberty	1	4
6. Had no curiosity before 10	2	3
7. Had no curiosity before 11	1	2
8. Curiosity began at or shortly before puberty	7	13
9. Had no sex curiosity during childhood	7	10
10. Never very curious during childhood	5	5
11. Curiosity lapsed (period not specified)	10	20
12. Curiosity lapsed or abated at or shortly before puberty	9	5
13. Curiosity continued, somewhat abated	1	2
14. Curiosity continued, but was never very strong	1	0
15. Curiosity continued	44	23
16. "Don't remember;" inconclusive answers	8	10
Total	100	100

Card 18: Question 8: *"In searching your memory for thoughts about sex matters which you may have had from very early childhood to puberty is there any long period during which no such thoughts seem to have entered your mind? In other words, do you believe that you passed through a period of several years during your childhood, but before puberty, when neither curiosity nor any other kind of interest in sex matters played a part in your life?"*

The answers to this question are contained in the above table, which lists the answers to *Question 7.*

Table 225

Card 19: Question 1: *"What do you know about venereal diseases?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Vague, very limited or inaccurate knowledge	30	46
2. A fair knowledge	47	33
3. An extensive and accurate knowledge	23	21
Total	100	100

Table 226

Card 19: Question 2: *"From what source did you obtain this information (about venereal diseases)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Mother	2	6
2. Father	6	1
3. Grandmother	0	1
4. Grandfather	0	1
5. Physicians; nurses; medical students (as sources of information)	16	13
6. Husband	0	17
7. High and Preparatory School	8	1
8. College	17	22
9. Medical college	9	0
10. Nurses' training school	0	3
11. Y. M. C. A.	2	0
12. Doing social service work	3	11
13. Special lectures	6	4
14. Army and Navy	9	0
15. Reading (publications of the American Social Hygiene Association; Government bulletins; writings of Margaret Sanger, Forel, etc.; Brieux's play)	46	51
16. The conversation of others	27	11
17. Contacts with those who had it	11	4
18. Personal experience (having had venereal infection)	3	1
19. In a religious treatise	1	0
20. Quack pamphlets	5	0
21. Dime museums (seeing wax figures)	1	1
22. "Various sources"	8	0
23. Has had no information on the subject	1	8
24. "Don't know;" inconclusive answers	0	1
Total *	181	157

* Many of the subjects had received information about venereal diseases from more than one source.

Table 227

Card 19: Question 3: *"Have you ever had a venereal disease? If so, when did you have it?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	89	98
2. Non-specific infection before marriage, which was not a consequence of copulation	2	1
3. Gonorrhoea before marriage, which was contracted during copulation	9	1
Total	100	100

Table 228

Card 19: Question 4: *"Do you have any reason to suspect that your (spouse) has now or ever has had a venereal disease?"* **Question 5:** *"If so, please give details."*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Spouse has never had a venereal disease	99	95
2. Spouse had non-specific infection before marriage	1	0
3. Gonorrhoea from illicit copulation before marriage	0	2
4. Gonorrhoea from illicit copulation during marriage	0	1
5. Syphilis from illicit copulation during marriage	0	2
Total	100	100

II

In ordinary clinical work one finds at every turn impressive evidence in support of the view that adult sex maladjustments are usually due to adverse experiences and, particularly, tuitional impositions of childhood. Parents, teachers, and society in general appear to be unwittingly in collusion to teach the child that the general region of the

body that is concerned with excretory and sexual functions is ugly, filthy, and shameful. Desires related to this region must be given the minimum of acknowledgment that is consistent with physical health and the perpetuation of the species. The simple folk words for sexual and excretory organs, acts, and products—many of which are charmingly onomatopoetic—are indiscriminately listed as filthy words which nasty-minded children write on privy walls and coarse adults employ as expletives of disgust. Cumbersome euphemisms are substituted for them in the nursery when allusion to the forbidden region is inescapable. *We not only do all that we can to make excretion and sex odious to the child's mind, but we give to these an almost identical reactive value.*

When the child begins to be curious about sex structures and functions, and to experience impulsions referable to sex, he is likely to find that allusions to them elicit warnings, prohibitions, evasions, half-truths, embarrassed apologies for things as they are, and even downright lies from his elders. His parents, who can be trusted to give him very simple and realistic explanations of almost all other phases of what goes to make up his own life and the environment with which he interacts, make him feel that they are afraid and ashamed of the tabooed region and its functions. In other words, the little boy—and particularly the little girl—must grow up in an environment which reeks with conditioning factors which tend to give to sex a negative reactive value.

These are trite enough pronouncements, but they encompass so many and such complex problems in human psychobiology when they are examined in light of even the limited number of findings in the preceding tables that their repetition is a necessary preface to what directly follows:

1. We found in Chapter VII that only 25 percent of the women of our study who menstruated before the age of 12

had orgasms during the first year of marriage whilst the corresponding percentage for the women who did not menstruate until after 14 was 55.5. In Chapter IX correlations between date of first menstruation and present orgasm capacity of the women gave support to the suggestion contained in this: only 33.33 percent of the women who menstruated before 12 had a present adequate orgasm capacity whilst 61.11 percent of those who first menstruated after 14 were rated as adequate in this respect. The figures for those whose first menstruation fell between the ages of 12 and 14 were 32.86 percent for the first year orgasms and 55.71 percent for present orgasm capacity. These correlations suggest the possibility that the later sex becomes a serious issue—i.e., the later the onset of puberty—the better is a girl's chance of escaping the adverse effects of prior tuitions and experiences relating to sex; and that, conversely, the earlier the onset of puberty the less her chance of effecting such an escape. Two of the tables of the present chapter present findings which afford an opportunity for testing this possibility still further. In *Table 202* it is shown that the first remembered sex curiosity came to 20 of the women before they were 6 years old and that 2 other cases are logically classifiable with this group; that with 41 of the women it came between the ages of 6 and 11, inclusive, and for 22 of them it came at 12 or later. The next table shows the distribution of these cases according to present orgasm capacity:

Table 229

Relation of the Age at Which the First Remembered Sex Curiosity Occurred to Present Orgasm Capacity.

	Present Orgasm Capacity	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
1. First sex curiosity came before 6 (22 cases)	9 (40.91%)	13 (59.09%)
2. First sex curiosity came between the ages of 6 and 11, inclusive (41 cases) . . .	22 (53.66%)	19 (46.34%)

	Present Orgasm Capacity	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
3. First sex curiosity came after 12 (22 cases)	14 (63.64%)	8 (36.36%)
4. "Had no curiosity;" "No curiosity remembered," etc. (6 cases)	2 (33.33%)	4 (66.67%)
5. Don't remember when first curiosity came (9 cases) . . .	7 (77.78%)	2 (22.22%)
Total (100 cases) . .	54	46

In *Table 224* it is shown that 60 of the women had a more or less definite and prolonged "latency period," i.e., a period of several years preceding puberty during which there was no significant interest in sex matters; and that 23 had no such period—in the sense that sex interest (or curiosity) was more or less present and active throughout childhood. If, as our findings thus far suggest, a relatively late rise of preoccupation with sex matters favors ultimate development of adequate orgasm capacity in women, we should expect that those who have a latency period during the years immediately preceding puberty would fare better than those who have no latency period. The next table fulfills this expectation:

Table 230

Relation of Presence or Absence of Latency Period to Present Orgasm Capacity.

	Present Orgasm Capacity	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
1. Lapse or abatement of sex curiosity for several years immediately preceding puberty, or complete absence of remembered pre-pubertal sex curiosity (60 cases)	38 (63.33%)	22 (36.67%)
2. Sex curiosity lapsed at or shortly before puberty (5 cases) . .	3 (60.00%)	2 (40.00%)
3. Sex curiosity continuous throughout childhood (23 cases)	7 (30.43%)	16 (69.57%)
4. Don't remember; inconclusive answers (12 cases) . . .	6 (50.00%)	6 (50.00%)
Total (100 cases) . .	54	46

2. In *Table 204* we find that the majority of the women received their earliest remembered information about sex matters from other than parental sources. The distribution of the various groups according to present orgasm capacity is given in the next table:

Table 231

Relation of Source of Earliest Remembered Sex Information to Present Orgasm Capacity.

Source of Earliest Sex Information	*Present Orgasm Capacity*	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
1. Mother; stepmother; foster-mother (26 cases) . . .	17 (65.38%)	9 (34.62%)
2. Father or brothers (4 cases) .	0 (0.00%)	4 (100.00%)
3. Grandmother; aunt; sister; older girl; nurse; physician (13 cases)	5 (38.46%)	8 (61.54%)
4. Contemporary girls; contemporary boys; "other children;" servants; the obscene talk or behavior of other children (48 cases)	26 (54.17%)	22 (45.83%)
5. Picked it up on a farm; copulating at 16; reading; seeing "Faust" (7 cases) . . .	5 (71.43%)	2 (28.57%)
6. Received no information (2 cases)	1 (50.00%)	1 (50.00%)
Total (100 cases) . .	54	46

If the source of the earliest sex information can be a factor in favorably or unfavorably conditioning a little girl with reference to ultimate orgasm capacity, it is desirable that the right informant be chosen, of course, but if we could proceed on this assumption it would not follow that mothers could always be safely chosen for this task. Nevertheless, the above table does more or less definitely suggest that, in the main, mothers are the safest informants, and that there may be some relation between adult

orgasm capacity and the source of the earliest sex information.

It would be exceedingly interesting to have data from a sufficient number of cases to determine whether the finding in the second entry of the table is significant or merely accidental. As will be seen from a glance at that entry, all four women who had received the earliest information from a father or a brother belong in the "inadequate" group: none of these four women ever had an orgasm in heterosexual relations, and two of them are overt homosexuals. This finding is consistent with those in the summary of the correlations given in Chapter XI and with what will be presented in the chapters devoted to incest and homosexuality: practically all the available evidence of my present research suggests that it is in the little girl's relationship to her father or brothers that we are most likely to find the conditioning factors which make for subsequent inability to achieve the orgasm in heterosexual copulation and, in a limited number of cases, for overt homosexuality. The evidence of my records leads me to suspect that in the case of girls various common types of relationship with family males during childhood elicit defensive inhibitions against impulsions to react to them as to sex objects, and that such inhibitions can thereafter be set in function by intimate contacts with beloved unrelated as well as with related males.

3. Theoretically, the nature of the first sex information would be of less importance as a conditioning factor than the method of its presentation, but the correlations given in the next table are of sufficient interest to require their inclusion:

Table 232

Relation of the Nature of the Earliest Remembered Sex Information to Present Orgasm Capacity.

Nature of Earliest Sex Information	*Present Orgasm Capacity* Adequate	Inadequate
1. The mother's (but not the father's) function in reproduction (24 cases)	17 (70.83%)	7 (29.17%)
2. The birds and flowers illustration (5 cases)	2 (40.00%)	3 (60.00%)
3. That babies are the result of copulation; more or less clear information about copulation; full and adequate information about sex matters (17 cases) .	10 (58.82%)	7 (41.18%)
4. Vague information about copulation; the difference between male and female; explanation of the menstrual function; "Nothing that made it repulsive;" meaning of folk words for copulation, sex parts, etc.; saw a cat have kittens; saw sex parts of animals (16 cases) .	7 (43.75%)	9 (56.25%)
5. Incorrect or repellently presented information (entries 17 to 56 in *Table 205*) (29 cases)	12 (41.38%)	17 (58.62%)
6. First information gained by copulating at 16 (1 case) . .	1 (100.00%)	0 (0.00%)
7. "Don't know;" "Don't remember;" "Received no information," etc. (8 cases) .	5 (62.50%)	3 (37.50%)
Total (100 cases) . .	54	46

4. In Chapter IX it was shown that the 24 women who experienced fear, disgust, or shock in reaction to the first sex act presented a higher percentage of cases with a present adequate orgasm capacity than did any other group whose answers were listed in *Table 151;* and that, if this group be subdivided, the women who experienced disgust

or both fear and disgust gave a higher percentage of adequate orgasm capacity than did those who experienced emotional shock of a less serious nature. This finding is contrary to what one would have expected, but is matched by the findings in the next table, which gives the correlations between the effects of the first sex information and ultimate orgasm capacity:

Table 233

Relation of the Reaction to the First Remembered Sex Information to Present Orgasm Capacity.

Reaction to First Sex Information	*Present Orgasm Capacity*	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
1. Wonder; surprise; pleasurable excitement; sense of gratified curiosity; interest; arousal of curiosity; pride; felt grown-up; pleasure (29 cases) . . .	13 (44.83%)	16 (55.17%)
2. Took it more or less as a matter of fact; no particular effect (17 cases)	9 (52.94%)	8 (47.06%)
3. Shocked; revolted; incredulous and repelled (31 cases) . .	20 (64.52%)	11 (35.48%)
4. All other cases (23 cases) . .	12 (52.17%)	11 (47.83%)
Total (100 cases) . .	54	46

5. Curiosity as to where babies come from is probably a great deal more frequently the earliest sex curiosity than the retrospections of adults would indicate, since it is often experienced at a too early age to be capable of recall in after years. It is reasonable to expect that it is best for the child to have from the beginning a simple, realistic knowledge of at least the fact that babies are born of their mothers' bodies. The next table supports this expectation:

Table 234

Relation of Age at Which It Was First Learned That Children Are Born of Their Mothers' Bodies to Present Orgasm Capacity.

When It Was Learned That Babies Are Born of Their Mothers' Bodies	*Present Orgasm Capacity*	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
1. Don't know; can't remember (10 cases)	9 (90.00%)	1 (10.00%)
2. Less than 6 years old; seems always to have known it; very young; knowledge came gradually (15 cases) * . . .	12 (80.00%)	3 (20.00%)
3. Six to 11 years old, inclusive (44 cases)	20 (45.45%)	24 (54.55%)
4. At 12 or later (31 cases) . .	13 (41.94%)	18 (58.06%)
Total (100 cases) . .	54	46

6. If the sexual reactive tendencies of adult life have their determination to a significant degree in childhood, and if the capacity or incapacity of adult women for experiencing orgasms is importantly a psychobiological rather than a purely physiological function, it is likely that the parent's reaction to the child's curiosities about sex matters plays at least some role. This is suggested by the findings in the next table:

Table 235

Correlations between (1) the Different Types of Parental Reactions Elicited by the Childhood Sex Curiosities of the 100 Women and (2) the Present Orgasm Capacity of These Women.

* The literal answers of 2 of the women to the question as to how old they were when they first learned that babies are born of their mothers' bodies were to the effect that they did not know—that the knowledge came gradually. These 2 cases may not logically belong with the *Entry 2* group. Their exclusion would increase the percentage of adequate-orgasm-capacity cases for the remaining cases of the group. The *Entry 1* and *Entry 2* answers might, perhaps, have been thrown together, but it seems to me that this would involve an element of interpretation which ought to be avoided when one is on doubtful ground.

Parents' Reactions to Sex Curiosities of Children	*Present Orgasm Capacity*	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
1. Met with encouragement on going to parents with questions about sex matters (15 cases) .	11 (73.33%)	4 (26.67%)
2. Met with neither encouragement nor rebuff (9 cases) . . .	5 (55.56%)	4 (44.44%)
3. Never went to parents with such questions (41 cases) . . .	22 (53.66%)	19 (46.34%)
4. Met with rebuffs (16 cases) .	8 (50.00%)	8 (50.00%)
5. Encouraged to ask questions but repelled by parents' stiffness; encouragement, but parents were embarrassed; met with embarrassment; mother answered questions but was reticent; met with embarrassment and evasion; met with resistance; would have been rebuffed; met with encouragement but answers were incomplete; was given inadequate answers; was told lies (19 cases) .	8 (42.11%)	11 (57.89%)
Total (100 cases) . .	54	46

III

The findings in *Tables 225, 226, 227,* and *228* would have a considerably greater value if each of the subjects had been given a Wassermann test. None of the subjects gave a history of syphilis, and only 2 of the women stated that their husbands had had this disease. Neither of these 2 men were subjects of my research; hence there were no inconsistencies of statement on this score among the 55 couples who were included in the list of 200 persons who were examined. Although 24 of the women had indulged in illicit sex intercourse during marriage, none had contracted a venereal disease in consequence of this. Only one woman had had pre-marital gonorrhoea. The 2 women whose husbands had had syphilis stated that the disease was contracted while they were pregnant. None of the men had had post-marital venereal diseases.

The 9 men who had had gonorrhoea were suggestively distributed as to date of birth. Only 8 of the 100 men were born prior to 1879, and 3 of these had had gonorrhoea. Fifty-nine of the men were born after 1888, and only 3 of these had had this disease. The other 3 men were born between these periods. Of course the dissemination of knowledge concerning the prevention of venereal diseases must have been an important factor in reducing their prevalence during the past two decades, but we must not lose sight of the fact that, whereas men of the educated classes who are now in middle age were largely dependent on prostitutes for their pre-marital copulation, the young man of today is likely to find many opportunities for indulging in this act with young women of his own class. Data confirming this statement will be found in Chapter XV.

CHAPTER XIII

Daydreams and Sleeping Dreams

I

Even what appears to the experiencing individual to be a simple and direct consciousness of what is going on about him reflects the operation of various inhibitive processes which safeguard him against distracting or unpleasant awarenesses. When he is purposefully engaged, his sense organs are being acted upon by many forces of which he is unaware in the ordinary sense of this word, others of which he is but dimly aware and still others which currently enter into his sensory experience as quite clear and definite events. It is likely, therefore, that somewhere in the dynamic sequence which at a given moment begins with the organism's initial reaction to these forces, and which ends in the form of psychical activities which the individual can report as his awarenesses, a great deal that started out to determine what he should consciously experience is somehow headed off. This heading-off process is what I have in mind when, speaking psychobiologically, I use the term "inhibition" and its derivatives. Now such headings-off (or inhibitions) appear to be most actively in function when the individual is wide awake in an alert and purposeful way; less so when he is in a state of revery or daydreaming, and still less so when he is asleep. But we must remember that he is acted upon, not only by forces which would lead to his mind being swamped by a multiplicity of mere sensations and perceptions if he were not safeguarded by these intermediary headings-off, but by perhaps an equally great number of excitants to desires, intentions and acts which he has been taught not to sanction. Processes are constantly

being started within him which, if unimpeded, would eventuate in repugnant awarenesses. If he is healthy, busy, interested in things which he finds it expedient and pleasing to like and to do—*and if he is wide awake*—almost all of his overt psychical activities will be relevant to the sanctioned purposes of his life. But, of course, he is not always "on the job." There are times when he falls into a revery, during which there arise desires and fantasies of their fulfillment which may not only be irrelevant to his habitually defined purposes but in direct contravention of them. When he falls asleep and dreams, his overt psychical activities are likely to be still more in conflict with what he would regard as expedient or allowable in waking life. In other words, the inhibitive processes which function somewhere in the sequences which begin with excitation and end with overt psychical activity are the psychodynamic equivalents of the law-enforcing police and the tradition-enforcing community, with their taboos, sanctions, and commands. They are the "censor" of Freud's metaphorical allusion.

If there were ever a complete lapse of these inhibitive functions during sleep or moments of revery, dreams and waking fantasies would be a source of direct information as to what the individual would desire if he were uninfluenced by the effects of post-natal training and experience. But even in the most lawless of sleeping dreams there is never more than an abatement of habitual inhibitions: any really intolerable impulsion is sure to be sufficiently impeded on its way to expression as overt dream consciousness to insure its deflection and consequent distortion. Thus the sleeping girl whose inwardly arising excitations touch off an impulsion which, if unimpeded, would eventuate in a dream presentation of her brother's sex organ, dreams instead that he is pursuing her with a snake in his hand; and the sleeping boy who has been "touched off," as it were, to have a dream awareness of sex intercourse with his mother has the more tolerable dream of sex plays with

a woman whose face is veiled. Whether such suggestive fantasies come during sleep or in moments of revery, the translation of them into what they would have been had the original impulsions behind them not been impeded, deflected, and distorted by tuitionally effected habit-inhibitions is a matter about which it is altogether too easy to be glib and convincing. Freud has convinced all of us that sleeping dreams are, as a rule, merely tolerable substitutes for intolerable impulsions which have been distorted by inhibitive processes on the way to consciousness; but he has failed to supply us with a technique for obtaining dream, waking-fantasy, and the related free-association material which would have validity for purposes of scientific inference. Now that he has given us an extensive and detailed orientation as to the psychodynamics of such phenomena, it seems to me that the time has come to put aside speculation, guessing, and uncritical methods of observation, and to undertake the prosaic task of making trustworthy studies. The first and most fruitful step to take in this direction is, in my opinion, to make sure of (1) the sexual taboos and sanctions that enter into the determination of what the individual can comfortably permit himself to desire and to do, and (2) what he desires and does when he is wide awake, when he is in a state of revery, and when he is asleep. It was with this in view that various questions, answers to which are given in the present chapter, were formulated:

II

Table 236

Card 21: Question 1: *"Before you knew anything about sex matters did you indulge in daydreams which gave you sensations and feelings which you now recognize as having had a sexual quality?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Yes	27	25
2. Probably; think so	13	1
3. Had only romantic or masochistic daydreams	5	3
4. Think not; remember none; inconclusive answers	30	16
5. No	25	55
Total	100	100

Table 237

Card 21: Question 2: *"If so, tell me as much about it as you can."*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Fantasies of being loved; of kissing; of affection	4	5
2. Romantic fantasies	7	3
3. Fantasies of marriage	3	2
4. Fantasies of having children	0	3
5. Copulation fantasies	7	2
6. Exhibitionistic fantasies	3	1
7. Peeping fantasies	8	2
8. Autoerotic fantasies	2	4
9. Sadistic fantasies	4	2
10. Masochistic fantasies	7	8
11. Homosexual fantasies	0	1
12. Incest fantasies	0	1
13. Fantasies involving urine, faeces, etc.	2	3
14. Fantasy of having sex organ like father and brother	0	1
15. Fantasy of a snake crawling over her	0	1
16. Self-maximating fantasies	7	6
17. Don't remember; inconclusive answers	13*	4*
18. Didn't have daydreams	52*	62*
Total †	119	111

* It will be seen that the total number of men and women who answered *Question 1* by saying that they had no sex daydreams during the period alluded to, or that they remembered none, and the number who made the same statements in answer to *Question 2* are not the same. Such inconsistencies will be found throughout the present chapter. Some of the subjects displayed a marked variability of recall without being aware of the fact that they gave conflicting statements as they passed from question to question.

† Where the totals are in excess of 100 at the bottom of a column it can be assumed that the answers of some of the subjects conformed to 2 or more of the types listed in the table.

Table 238

Card 21: Question 3: *"Did you have any kind of sex daydreams before puberty?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Yes	28	23
2. Probably; think so	9	0
3. Had them at the time of puberty	5	6
4. Had daydreams but they were not explicitly sexual	0	6
5. Had exhibitionistic daydreams	1	0
6. Had masochistic daydreams	1	0
7. Think not; can't remember, etc.	31	30
8. No	25	35
Total	100	100

Table 239

Card 21: Question 4: *"If so, describe them (pre-pubertal daydreams) as fully as you can."*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Fantasies of being loved; of kissing; of affection	6	5
2. Romantic fantasies	7	8
3. Fantasies of marriage	3	0
4. Fantasies of having children	0	3
5. Copulation fantasies	16	7
6. Exhibitionistic fantasies	2	1
7. Peeping fantasies	18	1
8. Autoerotic fantasies	1	5
9. Sadistic fantasies	7	2
10. Masochistic fantasies	8	9
11. Homosexual fantasies	5	1
12. Incest fantasies	1	0
13. Fantasies involving urine, faeces, etc.	4	3
14. Fantasies of having a sex organ like father and brother	0	1
15. Fantasies involving a woman's breasts	2	0
16. Circumcision and castration fantasies	2	0
17. Fantasies of copulation with the woman the aggressor	1	0

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
18. Self-maximating fantasies	8	6
19. "Don't remember;" inconclusive answers	11	5
20. Had no pre-pubertal fantasies	42	64
Total	144	121

Card 21: Question 5: *"Did your sex daydreams begin only after you reached puberty?"*

This question, which serves as a preface to the next one, is practically identical with *Question 3*, the answers to which are in *Table 239* above.

Table 240

Card 21: Question 6: *"If not, were your after-puberty sex daydreams unlike your before-puberty daydreams?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Like	14	11
2. Unlike	28	16
3. Fantasies were too vague to be remembered	0	1
4. Had no after-puberty daydreams	1	2
5. Had no before-puberty daydreams	48	64
6. "Don't remember;" inconclusive answers	9	6
Total	100	100

Table 241

Card 21: Question 7: *"Describe this difference (between pre-pubertal and post-pubertal sex daydreams)."*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Post-pubertal fantasies were more vivid	2	1
2. Post-pubertal fantasies were more elaborate	1	2
3. Post-pubertal fantasies were more realistic	10	4
4. Post-pubertal fantasies were more romantic	1	3
5. Post-pubertal fantasies were more definitely copulative	6	6

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
6. Post-pubertal fantasies were used as adjunct to masturbation	1	0
7. Post-pubertal fantasies became autoerotic	1	0
8. Sadistic features lapsed at puberty	1	0
9. Masochistic features entered at puberty	0	1
10. Exhibitionistic features lapsed at puberty	1	0
11. Exhibitionistic features entered at puberty	0	1
12. Began to wish to "fix up" and attract boys at puberty	0	1
13. Homosexual features lapsed at puberty	3	0
14. Fantasy of having a male sex organ lapsed at puberty	0	1
15. Fantasies involving female breasts entered at puberty	1	0
16. Religious elements entered into sex fantasies at puberty	1	0
17. Self-maximating features entered at puberty	0	1
18. The idea of the horror of sex entered at puberty	0	1
19. "Don't know;" "Don't remember;" inconclusive answers	11	2
20. Subject considers the question inapplicable	60	76
Total	100	100

Table 242

Card 21: Question 8: *"Did you pass through a period in your 'teens during which your sex daydreams included fantasies of yourself having sexually satisfying plays with (persons of the opposite sex)?" "If so, tell as much about this as you can."*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Had only fantasies of being loved; of kissing; etc.	4	11
2. Had only romantic fantasies	0	1
3. Had fantasies of marriage and having babies	5	2
4. Had copulation fantasies	40	11
5. Had fantasies of copulation with the girl the		

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
aggressor	3	0
6. Had fantasies of copulation with ugly, inferior women	1	0
7. Had fantasies of copulation from the rear	1	0
8. Had fantasies of sex plays indulged in by a fictitious boy of his own age and type	1	0
9. Had fantasies of aberrant sex plays	2	0
10. Had fantasies of masturbation plays with girls	6	0
11. Had fantasies of dressing up figures to look like women and having sex plays with them	1	0
12. Had fantasies involving the exposure of girls	19	0
13. Had fantasies involving women's breasts	1	0
14. Had fantasies of seeing the male sex organ	0	1
15. Had exhibitionistic fantasies	2	0
16. Had fantasies in which he had a very long sex organ	1	0
17. "Yes," not amplified	18	9
18. Had incest fantasies	4	0
19. Had homosexual fantasies	0	2
20. Had sadistic fantasies	7	1
21. Had masochistic fantasies	2	2
22. Had fantasies of sex plays involving features of self-maximation	9	0
23. Sex daydreaming didn't begin until after 20	2	0
24. "Don't remember;" inconclusive answers	6	6
25. No	16	58
Total	151	104

Table 243

Card 21: Question 9: *"Did you pass through a period in your 'teens during which you had sex daydreams of a kind which you would now regard as nasty, horrid, and altogether contrary to your grown-up standards of sex morality? If so, please tell as much about this as you can."*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "Yes," not amplified	3	3
2. Yes: all fantasies of illicit copulation are wrong	4	0
3. Yes: had nasty fantasies	0	2
4. Yes: fantasies of man having power over her to compel her to urinate in public	0	1
5. Yes: urine and faeces fantasies	0	1
6. Yes: fantasies of masturbating a woman	1	0
7. Yes: masturbation fantasies	0	1
8. Yes: fantasies of disrobing women	1	0
9. Yes: fantasies of being ill and subjected to physical examination by male physicians	0	1
10. Yes: rape and other sadistic fantasies	3	0
11. Yes: fantasies of being a prostitute	0	1
12. Yes: homosexual fantasies	1	2
13. Yes: fantasies of copulation with mother or sister	2	0
14. Yes: fantasies of copulation per rectum	1	0
15. Yes: fantasies of having women do fellatio to him	1	0
16. Yes: fantasies of doing cunnilingus to women	1	0
17. Yes: fantasies of aberrant sex practises (nature of these not specified)	1	0
18. No: not by present standards	10	6
19. No: has no standards of sex morality	4	0
20. "No" (not amplified)	63	77
21. Sex was repellent and nasty to her, and she had a taboo around it	0	3
22. "Don't remember;" inconclusive answers	8	2
Total	104	100

Table 244

Card 21: Question 10: ***"Did your sex daydreaming end with marriage?"***

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Yes	4	18
2. It ended before marriage	1	0
3. All sex daydreaming except fantasies involving his wife ceased at marriage	3	0

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
4. No	77	48
5. Sex daydreaming began with engagement or marriage	4	11
6. Sex daydreaming increased; became more definite	0	3
7. Inconclusive answers	7	2
8. Never had sex fantasies	4	18
Total	100	100

Table 245

Card 21: Question 11: *"Before marriage, but after you reached 18, did sex daydreams and sex thoughts occupy your mind a good deal?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Yes	57	51
2. Yes, after engagement	0	2
3. Yes, but not continuously	7	0
4. Yes, but they didn't include copulation	0	1
5. Yes, as a consequence of making Y. W. C. A. studies to inform herself as to the dangers besetting young girls	0	1
6. Yes, at times	2	0
7. Not a great deal; not much	20	2
8. No, but romantic daydreams did	0	1
9. No	12	41
10. Inconclusive answers	2	1
Total	100	100

Table 246

Card 21: Question 12: *"Did they (sex daydreams) interfere with your work? Make you fond of getting off by yourself for the sake of being alone with your imagination? Make you ashamed of facing your family after you had been indulging in such daydreams?"*

A. Interfered with Work

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Yes	26	19
2. Yes, since marriage, but not before	0	1
3. Not much; a little; occasionally	8	3
4. No	63	76
5. Inconclusive answers	3	1
Total	100	100

B. Conducive to Desire to Be Alone

1. Yes	22	18
2. Not much; occasionally	2	2
3. No	69	75
4. Inconclusive answers	7	5
Total	100	100

C. Ashamed to Face the Family

1. Yes	17	7
2. A little	5	0
3. Not unless he had masturbated	2	0
4. No, with reservations	0	2
5. No	72	87
6. Inconclusive answers	4	4
Total	100	100

Table 247

Card 21: Question 13: *"Do sex daydreams enter into your imagination now?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Yes: considerably; a good deal	39	21
2. Yes: to a limited extent	45	38
3. Daydreams are romantic rather than explicitly sexual	0	1
4. No	15	37
5. Inconclusive answers	1	3
Total	100	100

Table 248

Card 21: Question 14: *"In general, when you have sex daydreams, do you prefer to think of yourself as the only (person of your own sex) in the situation, or do you like to weave daydreams of yourself successfully competing with other (persons of your own sex) for the sexual favors of the (persons of the opposite sex) in your daydreams?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Likes fantasies of self in competition	3	3
2. In fantasy is cheating the woman's husband, but otherwise there is no competition	1	0
3. Sex fantasies sometimes include competition, sometimes do not	9	8
4. Does not like competition in sex fantasies	77	56
5. All her sex fantasies are autoerotic	0	1
6. Subject considers question inapplicable	10	32
Total	100	100

Table 249

Card 21: Question 15: *"Do you believe that a married (person) whose (spouse) is satisfactory to (her or to him) in a sexual way is likely to indulge in sex daydreams?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Yes	40	24
2. Yes, but not much	2	0
3. It would be less, the more satisfactory the spouse	3	0
4. It would depend on the individual	5	2
5. "I don't indulge in sex daydreams"	1	0
6. "Don't know;" "Uncertain"	12	24
7. No	37	50
Total	100	100

Table 250

Card 23: Question 1: *"At what age did you first have a sleeping dream in which you had an orgasm?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Between 6 and 11, inclusive	4	0
2. At 11 or later, but before the first menstruation	0	1
3. Between 12 and 15, inclusive	51	0
4. Before 16 but after the first menstruation	0	1
5. Between 16 and 20, inclusive	20	2
6. After 20.	3	8
7. Before marriage (period not specified)	3	0
8. After the first copulation	0	23
9. Never had an orgasm in sleep	2	60
10. Inconclusive; "Can't remember"	17	5
Total	100	100

Table 251

Card 23: Question 2: *"Had you been told that you might have such dreams?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Yes	21	3
2. Was not told, but had heard about them	6	0
3. Must have been told; think so	11	0
4. Had heard about them vaguely	1	0
5. Was told, but thought it meant he would wet the bed	1	0
6. Inferred it from the fact that boys have them	0	1
7. Has known about it for about 10 years	0	1
8. Didn't know about them until after marriage	0	2
9. Think not	5	0
10. No	52	91
11. "Don't remember;" inconclusive answers	3	2
Total	100	100

Table 252

Card 23: Question 3: *"Do you recall what you thought and felt about your first dream orgasm?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Found it a pleasant experience	8	14
2. Unaffected by it	8	0
3. Thought it a nuisance; the pollution was uncomfortable	1	0
4. Surprised; perplexed	5	8
5. Liked it but feared it would make her pregnant	0	1
6. Terminated it by masturbation	1	0
7. Thought he had masturbated in his sleep	2	0
8. Thought it was a consequence of masturbation	3	0
9. Discouraged: had tried to stop masturbation and this seemed an equivalent loss	1	0
10. Thought somebody had been in the room playing with his sex organ	1	0
11. Disturbed; upset	3	0
12. Frightened	15	0
13. Ashamed.	4	1
14. Depressed and worried	3	0
15. Headache and nausea	1	0
16. Thought that he had wet the bed	4	0
17. "Don't remember;" inconclusive answers, etc.	38	13
18. Never had an orgasm in sleep	2	63
Total	100	100

Table 253

Card 23: Question 4: *"Do you recall what your first dream was: whether you dreamed that you were having sex intercourse with a particular person, or merely had the sensations of the orgasm ('going off') without an attending dream?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Dreams involving copulation	11	9
2. Dream that fiance was masturbating her with his sex organ	0	1

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
3. Vague sex dreams involving unknown persons	11	3
4. Sex dream involving sister	1	0
5. Dream of urinating before women	1	0
6. Dreamed he was urinating	1	0
7. Dreamed he was talking with brother, then saw a bug crawling on his own sex organ	1	0
8. Homosexual dreams	1	1
9. Dream of seeing savage woman with very long genitals dance	1	0
10. Dreams of seeing women disrobe; of naked women	5	0
11. Sex dream involving woman in a black veil	1	0
12. Dream that his sweetheart was kissing him	1	0
13. Dream of seeing animals copulate	1	0
14. Dream of being beaten in punishment	0	1
15. Had merely the sensation of the orgasm; dream too vague to recall; don't remember, etc.	62	26
16. Never had an orgasm in sleep	2	59
Total	100	100

Table 254

Card 23: Question 5: ***"How frequently did you have dream orgasms from the time they began until marriage?"***

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Very frequently	2	0
2. Frequently	3	0
3. Frequently, during the periods immediately following menstruation	0	1
4. Two or three times in a night at times	0	1
5. Two or three times weekly	9	0
6. Five or six times monthly	1	0
7. Weekly to fortnightly	19	0
8. Once or twice monthly	17	0
9. Monthly	4	1
10. Less often than monthly; every few months	2	0
11. Variably	12	0
12. Two or three times a year	1	1
13. Infrequently	9	8
14. Very infrequently	10	0

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
15. Twelve times in all	2	0
16. Five or six times in all	2	1
17. Four or five times in all	1	0
18. Just a few times at 15 or 16	0	1
19. Only a few times in all	0	1
20. Once or twice in all	3	0
21. Had no orgasms in sleep before marriage	0	25
22. "Don't remember"	1	2
23. Doubtful if she ever had an orgasm in sleep	0	1
24. Never had an orgasm in sleep	2	57
Total	100	100

Table 255

Card 23: Question 6: *"Did they (orgasms in sleep) seem to affect you in any way, either physically or mentally?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Favorably affected	18	7
2. No effect	37	24
3. Sometimes favorably, sometimes unfavorably	2	0
4. Had too few orgasms in sleep to count	1	0
5. "Don't remember;" inconclusive answers	1	1
6. Never had an orgasm in sleep	2	58
7. Unfavorably	39	10
Total	100	100

Table 256

Card 23: Question 7: *"Did they worry you (orgasms in sleep)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Yes	34	8
2. No	63	34
3. Inconclusive answers	1	0
4. Never had an orgasm in sleep	2	58
Total	100	100

Table 257

Card 23: Question 8: *(For Men) "Did you ever dream that you were having sex intercourse in an unusual way, as, for example, with an inanimate object, an animal, a boy, a child, or a girl or woman of your own family? Nearly everybody has had sex sleeping dreams of a revolting nature, so please do not hesitate, from shame, to be frank about your own experience." (For Women) "Did you ever dream that you were having sex intercourse in an unusual way, as, for example, with an inanimate object, an animal, a girl, a woman, or a boy or man of your own family? Nearly everybody has had sex sleeping dreams of a revolting nature, so please do not hesitate, from shame, to be frank about your own experience."*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Yes: with animals	10	2
2. Yes: with babies	3	1
3. Yes: with immature girls	3	0
4. Yes: masturbation dreams	6	1
5. Yes: exhibitionistic dreams	0	1
6. Yes: chased with knife; chased by man	0	3
7. Yes: copulated with the genitals of a dead woman	1	0
8. Yes: a woman took off her skin and he copulated with it	1	0
9. Yes: submitted to fellatio by female	1	0
10. Yes: own sex organ turned into snake and tried to bite him	1	0
11. Yes: homosexual dreams	14	12
12. Yes: father and sister walking about with their heads exchanged	0	1
13. Yes: mother	15	0
14. Yes: father	0	1
15. Yes: sister	15	0
16. Yes: brother	0	2
17. Yes: daughter	1	0
18. Yes: infant son	0	1
19. Yes: grandmother	1	0
20. Yes: female cousin	1	0

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
21. Yes: stepmother	1	0
22. Yes: mother-in-law	1	0
23. Yes: brother-in-law	0	1
24. Yes: unspecified member of own family	1	0
25. Yes: nature of unnatural dream not specified	2	2
26. "Don't remember;" inconclusive answers	13	1
27. No	41	78
Total	132	107

Table 258

Card 23: Question 9: *"Did the tendency to have dream orgasms continue after marriage?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Yes	16	13
2. All orgasms in sleep have been since marriage	0	23
3. Yes: only during wife's illness, absence, or pregnancy	18	0
4. Occasionally	12	0
5. Infrequently	23	0
6. Only once	2	1
7. No: contradicted by positive answer elsewhere	4	0
8. Not to the point of emission	1	0
9. No	22	4
10. Inconclusive answer	0	1
11. Never had an orgasm in sleep	2	58
Total	100	100

Table 259

Card 23: Question 10: *"If you have dream orgasms now, are they usually attended by dreams of sex intercourse with particular persons or persons of a particular type? If so, please describe such persons or types."*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Spouse	14	9
2. Spouse's type	3	0
3. Persons of the opposite sex other than the spouse (type not specified)	0	10

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
4. Post-marital lover	3	0
5. Woman to whom he has recently been attracted	8	0
6. Sexually attractive females	1	0
7. Plump, voluptuous type, with firm breasts	1	0
8. Blondes	2	0
9. Brunettes	1	0
10. Never with girl he loves romantically	1	0
11. Girls he knew in the past	5	0
12. Women who are offensive to him	1	0
13. Women who are unattractive to him in waking life	4	0
14. Perverted type of women	1	0
15. Unknown females	4	0
16. Never sees her face	1	0
17. Sister-in-law	1	0
18. Sister's friend	1	0
19. Infant son	0	1
20. Babies with self in female role	0	1
21. A group, including men	1	0
22. Women	0	1
23. No particular type or person	21	17
24. "Don't know;" "Don't remember"	8	5
25. Doesn't have sex dreams	34	61
Total	116	105

Table 260

Card 23: Question 11: *"Do you ever have the following experience: you have had sex intercourse with your (spouse) on going to bed or shortly afterward, have fallen asleep, and at some time during the night have had an orgasm?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Yes	17	10
2. Only once	4	0
3. Uncertain	1	1
4. Almost, but not quite	1	0
5. Only when no orgasm has been had in copulation	1	0

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
6. No, but has masturbated same night after copulation with wife	1	0
7. No	75	89
Total	100	100

Table 261

Card 23: Question 12: *"Does your (spouse's) absence increase your tendency to have dream orgasms?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Yes	47	17
2. Slightly	1	5
3. Has had no extensive absences from spouse	14	0
4. "Don't know"	1	0
5. No	35	20
6. Has never had orgasm in sleep	2	58
Total	100	100

Table 262

Card 23: Question 13: *"Do you have them (dream orgasms) more or less often now than you did during the first year of your marriage?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. More frequently	10	21
2. The tendency is greater but the dreams do not come to actual emission	1	0
3. No difference.	13	4
4. Has had them too infrequently at all times for the question to be applicable	15	4
5. Married too recently to know	3	0
6. Less frequently	35	11
7. "Don't know;" inconclusive answers	8	2
8. Has had no dream orgasms since marriage	13	0
9. Never had a dream orgasm	2	58
Total	100	100

III

Although the answers of the women concerning their prepubertal fantasy lives are of interest from a purely descriptive standpoint, this part of the foregoing material of the present chapter disclosed no suggestive correlations with their records as to orgasm capacity. On the other hand, correlations between the material relating to more recent phases of their fantasy lives and both orgasm capacity and satisfaction with the marital situation as a whole proved to be very suggestive:

Table 263

Correlations between Types of Answers to the Question, "Did Your Sex Daydreaming End with Marriage?" and Present Orgasm Capacity.

	Present Orgasm Capacity	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
1. Sex daydreaming ended at marriage (18 cases) . . .	9 (50.00%)	9 (50.00%)
2. Sex daydreaming did not end at marriage (48 cases) . .	24 (50.00%)	24 (50.00%)
3. Sex daydreaming began with marriage or engagement, or increased or became more definite (14 cases)	5 (35.71%)	9 (64.29%)
4. Never had sex daydreams (18 cases)	14 (77.78%)	4 (22.22%)
5. All other cases (2 cases) . .	2 (100.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Total (100 cases) . .	54	46

Table 264

Correlations between Types of Answers to the Question, "Did Your Sex Daydreaming End with Marriage?" and Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole.

(*Women*)	*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*		
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
1. Sex daydreaming ended at marriage (18 cases)	9 (50.00%)	1 (5.56%)	8 (44.44%)
2. Sex daydreaming did not end at marriage (48 cases) . . .	12 (25.00%)	11 (22.92%)	25 (52.08%)
3. Sex daydreaming began with marriage or engagement, or increased or became more definite (14 cases) . . .	10 (71.43%)	1 (7.14%)	3 (21.43%)
4. Never had sex daydreams (18 cases) . . .	13 (72.22%)	1 (5.56%)	4 (22.22%)
5. All other cases (2 cases) . .	1 (50.00%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (50.00%)
Total (100 cases) . .	45	14	41

One would expect to find, as these two tables show, (1) that an increase or the initiation of sex daydreaming with marriage is more common among women who are incapable of having the orgasm than among the more fortunate ones, and (2) that among women who have been sex daydreamers during adolescence this practise would cease at marriage with a higher percentage of happily than of unhappily married ones. The really significant finding of the two tables is found in the correlations for the 18 women who claim never to have had sex daydreams: 77.78 percent of these have an adequate orgasm capacity and 72.22 percent belong to the *A–B* happily married group. That this finding may not be merely a function of insufficient numbers is suggested in the next four tables:

Table 265

Correlations between Types of Answers to the Question, "Before Marriage, but After You Reached 18, Did Sex Daydreams and Sex Thoughts Occupy Your Mind a Good Deal?" and Present Orgasm Capacity.

(*Women*)	*Present Orgasm Capacity* Adequate	Inadequate
1. Yes (52 cases)	23 (44.23%)	29 (55.77%)
2. No (41 cases)	27 (65.85%)	14 (34.15%)
3. All other cases (7 cases)	4 (57.14%)	3 (42.86%)
Total (100 cases)	54	46

Table 266

Correlations between Types of Answers to the Question, "Before Marriage, but After You Reached 18, Did Sex Daydreams and Sex Thoughts Occupy Your Mind a Good Deal?" and Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole.

(*Women*)	*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage* Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)	Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)	High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)
1. Yes (52 cases)	16 (30.77%)	11 (21.15%)	25 (48.08%)
2. No (41 cases)	23 (56.10%)	3 (7.32%)	15 (36.59%)
3. All other cases (7 cases)	6 (85.71%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (14.29%)
Total (100 cases)	45	14	41

Table 267

Correlation between Answers to the Question, "Do Sex Daydreams Enter Into Your Imagination Now? If So, to What Extent?" and Present Orgasm Capacity.

(*Women*)	*Present Orgasm Capacity* Adequate	Inadequate
1. Yes: considerably; a good deal (21 cases)	9 (42.86%)	12 (57.14%)
2. Yes: to a limited extent (38 cases)	17 (44.74%)	21 (55.26%)
3. No (37 cases)	26 (70.27%)	11 (29.73%)
4. All other cases (4 cases)	2 (50.00%)	2 (50.00%)
Total (100 cases)	54	46

Table 268

Correlations between Types of Answers to the Question, "Do Sex Daydreams Enter Into Your Imagination Now? If So, to What Extent?" and Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole.

	Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage		
(Women)	*Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)*	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
1. Yes: considerably; a good deal (21 cases) . .	3 (14.29%)	6 (28.57%)	12 (57.14%)
2. Yes: to a limited extent (38 cases)	15 (39.47%)	5 (13.16%)	18 (47.37%)
3. No (37 cases) .	26 (70.27%)	3 (8.11%)	8 (21.62%)
4. All other cases (4 cases) . .	1 (25.00%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (75.00%)
Total (100 cases) . .	45	14	41

These four tables contain some very impressive figures in support of the possibility that women who have been so conditioned that during adolescence they have a definite tendency to indulge in daydreams of a recognizably sexual character are much less likely to be capable of the orgasm and to be less satisfied with their marriages when they finally marry than are women who have no such tendency.*

One of the most striking features of *Table 268* is the fact that, whilst only 14.29 percent of the women who indulge considerably in sex daydreams at the present time are reasonably well satisfied with their marriage as a whole, 70.27 percent of those who now have no sex daydreams belong to

* It will be interesting to explore, in future investigations, the possibility that a pre-marital tendency to indulge in sex daydreams, adult sexual inadequacy, and incapacity to effect a satisfactory adjustment to the marital situation as a whole may have, in part, a common determination in early experiences and tuitional impositions which favor the development of tendencies to inhibit clear, direct, and unafraid awareness of primary sex impulsions.

the satisfied group. Another interesting disclosure—a feature of *Table 267*—is contained in the fact that only 42.86 percent of the present sex daydreamers have an adequate orgasm capacity, whilst 70.27 percent of the non-sex daydreamers are fortunate in this respect.

IV

Out of the conflicting mass of answers to the questions concerning sleeping sex dreams, one datum finally stood out as a constant one after the subjects had considered the matter long enough to be fairly confident of what they could recall. This is the one which relates to the question as to whether or not an orgasm had ever been experienced in sleep. Only 2 men were unable, throughout the sessions devoted to this subject, to recall a single dream orgasm, but there were 58 women who had never experienced it. Various other features of the tables devoted to the exposition of the answers to questions concerning sex dreams will have been found to be interesting and suggestive, no doubt, but only one of the several tables of correlations between this material and other findings shows anything of sufficient interest to justify its publication. This directly follows:

Table 269

Correlations between History as to Dream Orgasms and Present (Waking) Orgasm Capacity.

	Present Orgasm Capacity	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
1. Never had an orgasm in sleep (58 cases)	30 (51.72%)	28 (48.28%)
2. Has had an orgasm in sleep (42 cases)	24 (57.14%)	18 (42.86%)
Total (100 cases) . .	54	46

This table discloses the suggestive fact that 18 women

who belong in the inadequate group as to present *waking* orgasm capacity have had orgasms in sleep. Among these 18 women are several who are very sure that they never experienced the orgasm while awake and equally sure that they have experienced it in its typical form during sleep. Our records establish beyond a question of doubt that among women who are wholly incapable of inducing the orgasm by either masturbation or copulation while they are awake there are some who are capable of experiencing it in a vivid, typical form while asleep and dreaming. Such women are usually found to be highly excitable in a sexual way and capable of copulating with men whom they love without physical discomfort or any conscious sense of shame. This circumstance, when estimated in light of the findings in the above table, suggests that an at least numerically important group of cases in which waking orgasms are impossible owe their defect to psychodynamic rather than to primarily physiological factors. If, as we may reasonably suspect, the incapacity is a resultant of adverse early experiences and tuitional impositions, at least two important problems in sex hygiene will have to be allocated to the general fields of psychobiological and psychiatric research. One of these concerns the re-conditioning of women who have been so conditioned during childhood that after sexual maturity is reached they are incapable of the orgasm. Intellectual correction alone will not effect such a reconditioning, and among the cases that have been psychoanalyzed by the usual Freudian technique I have thus far encountered only failures. The other, more important, problem calls for an enormous extension of our as yet very meagre scientific knowledge of infantile, childhood, and adolescent psychodynamics. Unless we are willing to fool ourselves as to the value of speculation, debatable inference, and non-comparable observations, we must admit that, for all our concern with matters relating to

child welfare, the most important aspect of human ontogenesis, viz., the psychosexual development of females from birth to adolescence, is still, scientifically, a *terra incognita.* This has been discouragingly apparent throughout the task of analyzing the material of my present research, which, as the questions listed in Chapter II must show, had for one of its major aims a kind of study of the child in the adult.

CHAPTER XIV

Pre-Pubertal Sex Experiences; Pre-Pubertal and Post-Pubertal Sex Aggressions

I

A psychiatrist who becomes a sufficiently ardent advocate of any explanatory formulation whatsoever and a patient who is both loyal and suggestible to a marked degree can between them obtain subjective data almost to order. This seems to have been the case during a period when Freud was enthusiastically convinced that early psychical traumata (shocks) of a sexual nature are the specific determinants of various psychoneuroses. His discovery that hysterical patients were fantasying such experiences led him to modify his early pronouncements on this score, and it may, perhaps, have led all of us to minimize the importance of upsetting sex experiences in childhood as adverse determinants of adult capacity for sex adjustments. At any rate, sex aggressions are commonly enough experienced —especially by little girls—and their importance is still sufficiently a matter of legitimate doubt, to justify further research along this line. It is quite possible that the ultimate effects of a terrifying or other type of adverse sex experience during childhood are importantly determined by the previously established reactive value of sex in general for the little victim. I have in mind, by way of illustration, 2 adult women, both of whom were raped in early childhood. One of these has a complete amnesia for the event, which was witnessed by a trustworthy adult. The surgeon who examined her directly after she was rescued found indisputable evidence of rape. The assailant was a somewhat older boy who had a partial left hemiplegia.

His victim soon developed an hysterical left hemiplegia of about the same severity, and when I last saw her on the street, 20 years later, there was still marked evidence of this disorder. The other woman's rape during childhood is also a well-verified fact. Her assailant, who was a boy unknown to her, made a complete penetration. The child was temporarily upset, of course, but she recalls her experience quite easily, is a very well-adjusted person in general, and has an orgasm practically every time she copulates with her husband. No psychoneurotic symptoms followed the rape.

One can scarcely doubt that in the first of the 2 cases cited the rape was the specific determinant of the ensuing hysterical hemiplegia. Why, then, did the second girl suffer no ill effects beyond a mere temporary upset? An adequate answer to such a question would, of course, presuppose a knowledge of the human reactive equipment in its genetic aspects which we are not likely to have until a vast amount of patient research can be accomplished. There is, however, a suggestive difference in the histories of the 2 women. The one whose rape was followed by such disastrous consequences was reared in an atmosphere which would tend to convince any sensitive child that the sex organs and all explicitly sexual cravings and acts are to be regarded with fear and shame. The other child was reared by parents who gave her from early childhood simple, realistic, and strictly factual accounts of all that pertains to sex. From the beginning of her interest in such matters, she looked forward to the exercise of her sex functions with an easy, pleasant sense of anticipation, and her history suggests that in her sex life she has at all times been governed by a practical grasp of the various expediencies which the unfolding circumstances of her life have required her to take into account.

In the tables which follow it will be observed that the

total number of cases who denied pre-pubertal sex experiences does not remain constant as we pass from one set of answers to another. This is in part accounted for by the fact that occasionally a subject was in doubt as to whether a given experience was too trivial to justify other than a negative answer, but there was also evidence of fluctuations of ability to recall childhood experiences. Since I wish to avoid, as far as possible, the introduction of my own judgments into tabulations, I have made no effort to reconcile the various tables.

Table 270

Card 24: Question 1: (*Men*) *"Did you ever have sex intercourse with a girl or woman before you reached puberty?"* (*Women*) *"Did you ever have sex intercourse with a boy or man before you reached puberty?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	87	80
2. Had sex plays without penetration	4	7
3. Incomplete copulation; unsuccessful attempts	9	2
4. Was raped	0	1
Total	100	100

Table 271

Card 24: Question 2: *"If so, at what age did you have such intercourse?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Subject considers question inapplicable	88	90
2. Less than 6 years old	2	1
3. Six to 11 inclusive	4	8
4. After 11 but before puberty (or first menstruation)	6	1
Total	100	100

Table 272

Card 24: Question 3: *"Did you take the initiative the first time or did (the person of the opposite sex) lead you into it?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Subject considers question inapplicable	89	90
2. It was mutual	1	0
3. Subject took the initiative	8	1
4. The person of the opposite sex took the initiative	2	8
5. Another girl suggested to her and the boy that they experiment	0	1
Total	100	100

Table 273

Card 24: Question 4: *"Describe as accurately as you can each (person of the opposite sex) with whom you had sex intercourse before puberty."* *

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Subject considers question inapplicable	90	90
2. A contemporary of the opposite sex	5	5
3. A considerably younger girl	1	0
4. A colored girl baby	1	0
5. A considerably older boy (rape)	0	1
6. A woman	2	0
7. A younger sister	1	0
8. An older brother	0	3
9. Older boy cousins (several experiences)	0	1
Total	100	100

* *Table 270* suggests that complete copulation was experienced by only one of the 200 subjects before puberty, but a total of 10 men and 9 women considered their pre-pubertal sex plays to have been sufficiently intimate and serious to render the question applicable to their cases.

Table 274

Card 24: Question 5: *"Were any of these (persons of the opposite sex) related to you?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Subject considers question inapplicable	91	89
2. Nurse maid	1	0
3. Sister	1	0
4. Brother	0	3
5. Girl cousin	1	0
6. Boy cousin	0	2
7. Unrelated	6	6
Total	100	100

Table 275

Card 24: Question 6: *"Before you reached puberty did you have opportunities for sex intercourse with (a person of the opposite sex) which you refused?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	83	85
2. Yes	16	15
3. Inconclusive answers	1	0
Total	100	100

Table 276

Card 24: Question 7: *"If so, why did you refuse (prepubertal sex intercourse)? From fear? Lack of desire? Disgust? Moral scruples?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Subject considers question inapplicable	75	83
2. Did not refuse	1	0
3. Lack of desire	6	4

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
4. From a cause which she did not understand	0	1
5. Ignorance	3	0
6. Was distracted by his own erection	1	0
7. Bashfulness	4	0
8. Sense of shame	0	1
9. Fear	9	7
10. Disgust	3	4
11. Moral scruples; religious scruples	13	5
12. Has a partial amnesia for the episode	0	2
13. Has a complete amnesia for the episode	0	1
14. "Yes," not amplified	1	0
Total*	116	108

Table 277

Card 24: Question 8: *"Before puberty were you more or less likely to desire sex intercourse with a particular (person of the opposite sex) because you were fond of (that person)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Had no conscious sex desire before puberty	68	95
2. It made no difference: had sex desire for girls of whom he was fond and for girls for whom he had no fondness	1	0
3. Less likely	8	0
4. More likely	12	3
5. Had the thought, but it was not related to a particular person	0	1
6. Had sex curiosity but no real desire	0	1
7. Inconclusive answers	11	0
Total	100	100

*Some of the subjects stated that they refused opportunities for prepubertal sex intercourse from more than a single one of the above listed causes; hence the excess of the totals over 100 for each sex.

Table 278

Card 24: Question 9: *"Did the thought of having sex intercourse (with persons of the opposite sex) enter your mind at all (before puberty)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	43	76
2. No, with reservations	19	4
3. Yes	25	13
4. Yes, with reservations	13	7
Total	100	100

Table 279

Card 24: Question 10: *"Before puberty were you ever frightened or disgusted by the sexual aggressions of (persons of the opposite sex)?"*

A. Age at Which Aggression Was Experienced

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Had no such experience	78	54
2. Less than 6 years old	6	4
3. Six to 11 inclusive	18	26
4. Twelve to 15 inclusive	6	14
5. Sixteen to 20 inclusive *	0	10
6. After 20 *	0	5
7. "Yes," age not specified	2	6
8. Has the feeling that she has been the victim of such an experience	0	1
Total †	110	120

* It was soon apparent that it was more natural for the women to give accounts of both pre-pubertal and post-pubertal sex aggressions in answering this question; hence it was prefaced in all cases thereafter by a verbal request that the answer be made to include both periods.

† Some of the subjects gave accounts of more than a single experience; hence the excess in the totals.

B. Kinds of Sexual Aggressions Experienced

A. Men (Pre-pubertal Aggressions)

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Had no such experience	78	
2. Repelled by the unsolicited kiss of a little girl	2	
3. Frightened by little girl's expression of willingness to copulate with him when this was suggested by another boy	1	
4. Frightened by a mutual exhibition party in which he was induced to play a part by two little girls	1	
5. Disgusted by little girl's proposal that they indulge in sex plays in imitation of cows and bulls.	1	
6. Frightened and sexually stimulated by little girl pulling him down on top of her in an erotic advance made by her	1	
7. Frightened by suggestion of little girl whom he kissed that they copulate	1	
8. Disgusted by older girl's proposal that he expose himself	1	
9. Responsive when older girl exposed his genitals and her own	1	
10. Embarrassed when older colored girl exposed her genitals to him	1	
11. Interested when older girl wished to touch his genitals	1	
12. Frightened when older girl got into bed with him	1	
13. Repelled by older girl handling his sex organ	1	
14. Disgusted by older girl's sex aggressions	1	
15. Angered when two older girls put him under the bed covers and urged him to copulate with them	1	
16. Repelled by servant girls asking him to expose his genitals	1	
17. Unresponsive to exhibitionism of servant girl	1	
18. Responsive to servant girl handling his sex organ	2	
19. Embarrassed by servant girl's efforts to seduce him	1	
20. Has partial amnesia for servant girl's sex aggression	1	

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
21. Embarrassed and repelled by woman teacher's lovemaking	1	
22. Took initiative in pressing sex organ against nurse in bed	1	
23. Has been told that his nurse handled his genitals when he was a baby	1	
24. Responsive when governess put him on top of her and behaved in an erotic manner	1	
25. Responsive when mother of playmate handled his sex organ	1	
26. Frightened when mother of girl playmate suggested he copulate with the girl	1	
27. Disgusted when stepmother got into bed with him	1	
28. Responsive to aunt who got into bed with him	1	
29. Badly shocked when parents exposed themselves to him at 8 in an effort to give him sex instruction	1	
30. Terrified when older sister asked him to expose himself	1	
31. Repelled when older sister got into bed with him and wished him to engage in erotic plays	1	
Total	110	

B. Women (Pre-pubertal Aggressions)

1. Had no such experiences before puberty	80
2. Frightened by little lover throwing her down and kissing her	1
3. Frightened and repelled by smutty allusions of little boys	1
4. Frightened by exhibitionism of little boy	1
5. Felt guilty because little boys suggested that she and other little girls exhibit themselves	1
6. Humiliated by boy jeering at her for having permitted him to unbutton her pants, and frightened by episode itself	1
7. Recalls only shame experienced after having come home with pants unbuttoned after play with a little boy	1
8. Frightened by being chased by little boy	1
9. Shocked by being pursued on street by little boys who held icicles in front of trousers, shouting the folk word for copulation	1

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
10. Shamed and terrified by little boy's request for copulation		1
11. Angered by little boy throwing her down and getting on top of her in pretense of copulation		1
12. Frightened by boy playmates' attempted copulation with her		1
13. Frightened by strange little boy's attempt to copulate with her		1
14. Frightened by much older boy who chased her and put his hand on her genitals		1
15. Terrified by older boys taking her into barn, exposing their sex organs to her and asking her to do fellatio to them		1
16. Frightened by older male cousin's attempt at copulation		1
17. Disgusted by older male cousin's orgasm during sanctioned sex play		1
18. Frightened by older boy's unsuccessful attempt to rape her		1
19. Temporarily frightened and shocked by being raped by older boy		1
20. Repelled by erotic kissing inflicted by adult male		1
21. Repelled or frightened by encounters with adult male exhibitionists in public places		5
22. Frightened by strange man rubbing her knees suggestively		1
23. Frightened by drunken man who put his hand under her dress, on her genitals		1
24. Repelled by strange man; he exposed his sex organ and asked her to take it in her hand		1
25. Repelled by father's exposure of sex organ while he was drunk		1
26. Repelled by grandfather handling her genitals		1
27. "Horribly repelled" by stepfather feeling her breasts and pressing himself against her with their sex organs apposed		1
28. Repelled by repeated use of her by her older brother, who examined her body to satisfy his sex curiosity		1
Total		111

C. Women (Sex Aggressions Shortly Before or After the First Menstruation)

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Made angry by boy asking her if she had had sex experience		1
2. Upset by boy on street asking her to copulate with him.		1
3. Disgusted by boy rubbing her breasts while they were hiding under a bed in a game of hide and seek		1
4. Badly shocked by girl contemporary thrusting her finger through subject's hymen in unsolicited attempt to illustrate how copulation is accomplished		1
5. Upset by erotic kissing of much older male		1
6. Much shocked by girl's tale of sexual aggression by a male nurse		1
7. Upset by seeing male exhibitionist on street		1
8. Frightened by exhibitionistic tramp		1
9. Upset by man rubbing her breasts (without exposure)		1
10. Upset by old man putting his hand under her dress and fondling her breasts		1
11. Upset by old man's unsuccessful attempt to rape her		1
12. Greatly shocked by uncle's aggression, which stopped short of actual penetration		1
13. Disgusted by stepfather's frequent visits to her room, where he caressed her genitals under the bed covers		1
14. Gave no history of sex aggression during this period		88
Total		101

D. Women (Post-pubertal Sex Aggressions)

1. Repelled by encounter with exhibitionist		2
2. Believes she has never recovered from misinterpretation by others of an innocent adventure with middle-aged man		1
3. Upset by elderly sea-captain's advances		1
4. Upset by erotic advances of physician		2
5. Upset by being chased by elderly clergyman		1

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
6. Frightened by male fortune teller seizing and kissing her		1
7. Later repelled by own act in permitting elderly man to masturbate her		1
8. Old man made unsuccessful attempt to catch her in an evidently sexual pursuit		1
9. Revolted by too violent love-making of boy friend		1
10. Violent struggle to prevent rape by boy suitor		3
11. Raped by boy suitor		2
12. Uncle attempted rape		1
13. Repelled by sex aggressions of stepfather (no penetration)		2
14. Gave no history of sex aggressions during this period		86
Total		105

E. Women (Sex Aggressions Which Could Not Be Definitely Dated by the Subjects, but Which Probably Occurred Before Puberty)

1. Disgusted by the exhibitionisms and invitations of little boys	1
2. Upset by request of boy that she lie on couch with him.	1
3. Upset by boy leaping upon her back in imitation of animal copulation	1
4. Upset by aggression of boy on street (no penetration)	1
5. Grabbed by tough boys on street; one put his hand between her legs	1
6. Shocked by erotic hugging of older boy	1
7. Upset by encounters with adult male exhibitionists	5
8. Frightened by strange adult male who picked her up and put his hand between her legs	1
9. Frightened by unsuccessful attempt of old man to copulate with her	1
10. Upset by accidentally seeing father's sex organ	1
11. Frightened to wake up one night, while ill, and find father in bed with her	1
12. Repelled by foster-brother's sex advances	1

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
13. Has complete amnesia for sex advances of brother		1
14. Has partial amnesia for sex experience with brother which may have involved copulation, and about which she worried greatly for years		1
15. Gave no undated accounts of sex aggression		87
Total		105

Table 280

Card 24: Question 11: *"If so (you were ever frightened or disgusted by the sexual aggressions of a person of the opposite sex), please describe (that person)."* *

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Had no such experience	76	62
2. Contemporary or younger girls (6 pre-pubertal and 1 post-pubertal)	7	0
3. Contemporary boys (7 pre-pubertal and 4 post-pubertal)	0	11
4. Older girls (5 pre-pubertal)	5	0
5. Older boys (7 pre-pubertal)	0	7
6. Strange adult males, drunken men, negroes, tramps, physicians, and clergymen (10 pre-pubertal and 6 post-pubertal)	0	16
7. Old men (2 pre-pubertal and 3 post-pubertal)	0	5
8. Female servants (5 pre-pubertal and 1 post-pubertal)	6	0
9. Negro women (2 pre-pubertal)	2	0
10. Other mature women (5 pre-pubertal)	5	0
11. Boy cousins (2 pre-pubertal and 1 post-pubertal)	0	3
12. Aunts (2 pre-pubertal)	2	0
13. Uncles (2 pre-pubertal and 1 post-pubertal)	0	3
14. Grandfather (1 pre-pubertal)	0	1
15. Stepfathers (1 pre-pubertal and 2 post-pubertal)	0	3

* Since the list of persons who, whether intentionally or unwittingly, were responsible for these experiences is of interest as showing what types of individuals may be offenders against the sex hygiene of both childhood and adolescence, the table is made to include all answers.

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
16. Stepmother (1 pre-pubertal)	1	0
17. Mother (1 pre-pubertal)	1	0
18. Sisters (2 pre-pubertal)	2	0
19. Brothers (4 pre-pubertal)	0	4
20. Girl friend (at or near puberty; homosexual aggression)	0	1
Total	107	116

II

The obligation to protect all the subjects of my research from danger of being identified anywhere in the pages of this report has proved to be a serious handicap in presenting interesting sequences of events which occurred in the lives of various individuals. The original records contain an appalling array of misadventures which occurred during the childhood and adolescence of persons who were brought up in what might be regarded as desirable types of environment. The boys, as will be seen by reference to *Table 279*, got off better than the girls, only 54 of whom disclaimed all memory or knowledge of upsetting sex aggressions at some time in their lives. This number would be slightly larger if I were to exclude the cases in which reference was made to apparently minor episodes, such as being forcibly kissed by a little boy during childhood, but in these cases the fact that the subject herself defined such an experience as an upsetting aggression committed against her left me no option in the matter.

If a thousand instead of a hundred women had been studied, it is likely that correlations between adult capacity for sex adjustment on the one hand and the various kinds of data presented above on the other hand would give us a fairly extensive orientation as to what, concretely, are the main problems of sex hygiene during childhood and adolescence. Thus the age at which a sex aggression is experi-

enced, the nature of aggression, and the age and identity of the aggressor are important separate data for purposes of correlation. Back of that, and probably of more fundamental importance, is the need of data which will enable us to determine how best to prepare little girls to meet any untoward sex experiences which they may encounter from very early childhood onward. They are, after all, females, and as such possible sex objects for all males, related and unrelated.

Table 281

Correlations between History as to Pre-marital Sex Aggressions and Present Orgasm Capacity.

	Present Orgasm Capacity	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
1. Never victim of pre-marital sex aggression (54 cases) . . .	38 (70.37%)	16 (29.63%)
2. Victim of pre-marital sex aggression (46 cases) . . .	16 (34.78%)	30 (65.22%)
Total (100 cases) . .	54	46

The above correlations suggest that the girl who escapes upsetting sex aggresions has a much better chance of experiencing the orgasm in marital copulation than one who has been the victim in such an episode. The total number of cases studied is, unfortunately, too small to enable us to determine with any degree of certainty the relative importance of such factors as (1) the age of the girl at the time of the aggression, (2) the nature of the aggression, and (3) the identity of the aggressor. In the 8 cases (*Table 280*) where the aggressor was a family male * no woman escaped either serious difficulties in effecting an

* The term "family male" is here meant to include only father, stepfathers, brothers, and uncles—not cousins. Although in answering *Question 10* of *Card 24* some of the women alluded to experiences in which the father's role may easily have been an accidental one, such as exposure of his own sex organ, the answers to *Question 11* contained no reference whatsoever to aggressions by a family male in which the latter did not deliberately make upsetting sex advances.

adequate marital sex adjustment or a marked degree of personality imbalance during adult life, or both. Since many of the women were the victims of more than a single aggression and at different age periods, the importance of these two factors cannot be easily traced for our 100 cases. However, in the next table some hint is given as to a possible relationship between the age of the victim and the reactive value of the aggression:

Table 282

Correlations between the Age at Which Sex Aggressions Occurred and Present Orgasm Capacity.

	Present Orgasm Capacity	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
1. Never victim of pre-marital sex aggression (54 cases) . .	38 (70.37%)	16 (29.63%)
2. Aggression occurred when the subject was less than 6 years old (4 cases)	0 (0.00%)	4 (100.00%)
3. Aggression occurred at unspecified period, but probably before puberty * (6 cases) .	1 (16.67%)	5 (83.33%)
4. Aggression occurred between the ages of 6 and 11 inclusive (26 cases)	10 (38.46%)	16 (61.54%)
5. Aggression occurred between the ages of 12 and 15 inclusive (14 cases)	4 (28.57%)	10 (71.43%)
6. Aggression occurred between the ages of 16 and 20 inclusive (10 cases)	3 (30.00%)	7 (70.00%)
7. Aggression occurred after 20 (5 cases)	2 (40.00%)	3 (60.00%)
8. Has the feeling that she has been the victim of a sexual aggression (1 case) . . .	0 (0.00%)	1 (100.00%)

* These cases, in which there was a hazy memory as to the date of the aggression, have, suggestively, a very high percentage as to inadequate present orgasm capacity; where an element of partial amnesia for an event enters, one suspects that it was sufficiently upsetting to induce an inhibition of recall processes.

III

The first 9 questions of *Card 24*, answers to which are listed in the present chapter, refer to various phases of the subjects' pre-pubertal sex lives other than those involving subjection to sex aggression. Only *Question 7* shows anything of interest when correlated with present orgasm capacity. The answers (*Table 276*) give the reasons of 17 women for having refused opportunities for pre-pubertal sex intercourse, the other 83 never having had such opportunities.

Table 283

Correlations between History as to Opportunities for Pre-pubertal Sex Intercourse and Present Orgasm Capacity.

	Present Orgasm Capacity	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
1. Never had opportunity for pre-pubertal sex intercourse (83 cases)	48 (57.83%)	35 (42.17%)
2. Had opportunity for pre-pubertal sex intercourse (17 cases) .	6 (35.29%)	11 (64.71%)
Total (100 cases) . .	54	46

The relatively low percentage of cases with adequate present orgasm capacity in the group who had opportunities for pre-pubertal sex intercourse might have been expected, of course, since these would naturally include the cases in which sexual aggressions took the form of attempts at or requests for copulation.

CHAPTER XV

Pre-Marital, Marital, and Extra-Marital Sex Experiences

I

The many tables of the present chapter are presented with an almost certain conviction that they will elicit more comment than all the remainder of the book, and that there will be numerous protests to the effect that the 200 men and women of my research are not fairly representative of American men and women in general. I have never said that they are. For one thing, it is safe to say that, taken as a group, they are well above the average as to intellectual capacity, courage, honesty, and general enlightenment. This has proved to be a fortunate circumstance in a research which is concerned with the etiology of particular phenomena rather than their distribution according to age, cultural, regional, or other groups with which the sociologist deals. Whether their sex behavior is typical of any group whatsoever save this particular one of 200 is not the primary concern of my investigation: once a dependable description of any mode of behavior is obtained, it is the chief concern of psychobiology to trace the genesis of the reactive tendencies of which it is an expression. We must not forget that a group of human beings may be quite atypical as to concrete modes of behavior and yet be typically human as regards their modifiability and the biological principles which govern such modifiability.

In view of the probability that not many readers will do more than glance at the hundreds of tables of this book, and since most of them will be curious to know how virtuous or unvirtuous the 200 men and women claimed or admitted

themselves to have been, a brief summary of these points will directly follow:

(1) 59 of the 100 men and 47 of the 100 women had had illicit sex intercourse either before or after marriage.

(2) 46 men and 61 women had never had sex intercourse with persons other than their spouses; 5 of the men and 8 of the women who had had illicit sex intercourse had it only during engagement, with the persons whom they subsequently married.

(3) 28 men and 24 women had had illicit (adulterous) sex intercourse while married to their spouses. An additional 1 man and 1 woman had their first illicit intercourse after divorce or widowhood.

(4) 15, or 62.5 percent, of the 24 adulterous women are either incapable of having the orgasm in copulation or are so doubtful about it that they belong to the previously mentioned sexually inadequate group. 40.79 percent of the non-adulterous women belong to the sexually inadequate group.

(5) Only 6, or 25 percent, of the 24 adulterous women had sex intercourse with men other than their husbands before marriage, although 20 percent of all 100 women gave a history of pre-marital sex intercourse with men other than their husbands.

(6) 20, or 71.43 percent, of the 28 adulterous men had sex intercourse with women other than their wives before marriage, but only 34.72 percent of the non-adulterous men gave a history of pre-marital sex intercourse with women other than their wives.

(7) 12, or 50 percent, of the 24 adulterous women were virgins at marriage. 71.62 percent of the non-adulterous women were virgins at marriage.

(8) Only 5, or 17.86 percent, of the 28 adulterous men were virgins at marriage, whilst 56.94 percent of the non-adulterous men were virgins at marriage.

Table 284

Card 25:* Question 1: *"At what age did you first have the sex act with (a person of the opposite sex)?"*

A. Age at First Post-pubertal Copulation

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. At 13	1	0
2. At 15	3	0
3. At 16	5	1
4. At 17	5	1
5. At 18	7	7
6. At 19	4	2
7. At 20	4	5
8. At 21	6	7
9. At 22	7	13
10. At 23	9	13
11. At 24	10	11
12. At 25	7	8
13. At 26	5	6
14. At 27	5	8
15. At 28	8	5
16. At 29	3	3
17. At 30	4	3
18. At 31	1	2
19. At 32	1	0
20. At 33	3	2
21. At 35	2	1
22. At 37	0	1
23. At 41	0	1
Total	100	100

B. Persons with Whom First Copulation Was Had

1. Spouse, after marriage	46	65
2. Spouse, before marriage	10	15
3. Person other than spouse, before marriage	44	20
Total	100	100

*All questions on *Card 25* were prefaced by the qualifying statement, "All questions on this card refer to your sex life *after puberty*."

Table 285

Card 25: Question 2: *"Describe the first (person of the opposite sex) with whom you had the sex act, giving (his or her) age, physical appearance, and disposition."* *

(Men)

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
1. A woman older than the subject	27	
2. A woman of equal age or younger than the subject	53	
3. A prostitute of unknown age	19	
4. A younger sister	1	
Total	100	

(Women)

1. A man younger than the subject		12
2. A man of equal age to 5 years older than the subject		56
3. A man from 6 to 10 years older than the subject		22
4. A man from 11 to 15 years older than the subject		7
5. A man more than 15 years older than the subject		3
Total		100

Table 286

Card 25: Question 3: *"Did (the other person) lead you into it or did you lead the (other person) into it?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
1. It was mutual	36	31
2. The male took the initiative	37	58

* Such details as physical appearance and disposition were sought for purposes of correlation with similar descriptions of parents, brothers, and sisters, but these will not be given in the present volume, since their adequate presentation will call for a separate monograph.

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
3. The male raped the female (post-pubertal rape)	0	2
4. The female took the initiative	14	5
5. The male took the initiative by going to a house of prostitution	11	0
6. A physician ordered it, the subject and her husband having agreed to continence as a more ideal procedure	0	1
7. Inconclusive answers	2	3
Total	100	100

Table 287

Card 25: Question 4: *"Did you find much pleasure in the first sex act, or was it disappointing?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
1. Pleasure predominated	26	14
2. Very little, if any, pleasure	8	22
3. Was indifferent—uninterested	0	2
4. Disappointment	47	32
5. Pain predominated	0	11
6. Very painful.	0	6
7. Fear; anxiety	7	8
8. Feeling of guilt	0	1
9. Feeling of shame	0	1
10. Disgust; repulsion	4	3
11. Premature orgasm	6	0
12. Inconclusive answers	2	0
Total	100	100

* Such details as physical appearance and disposition were sought for purposes of correlation with similar descriptions of parents, brothers, and sisters, but these will not be given in the present volume, since their adequate presentation will call for a separate monograph.

Table 288

Card 25: Question 5: *"Describe the mental and physical characteristics of each (person other than your spouse) with whom you have had sex intercourse. As nearly as possible give dates and ages."* *

A. History as to Illicit Copulation

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Never had sex intercourse with any person but with spouse, and with spouse only after marriage	41	53
2. Only illicit sex intercourse was with spouse before marriage	5	8
3. Had illicit sex intercourse with person other than spouse, but only before marriage	25	14
4. Had illicit sex intercourse with person other than spouse, but only after marriage	8	18
5. Had illicit sex intercourse with person other than spouse both before and after marriage	20	6
6. Had illicit sex intercourse with person other than spouse only after divorce or widowhood	1	1
Total	100	100

B. Distribution of Illicit Copulations (Not Including Cases of Pre-marital Copulation with Spouse): 54 Men and 39 Women

Before Marriage	*After Marriage*		
1. No person other than spouse	1 person other than spouse	1	8
2. No person other than spouse	2 persons other than spouse	3	4
3. No person other than spouse	3 persons other than spouse	3	0
4. No person other than spouse	5 persons other than spouse	0	2
5. No person other than spouse	6 persons other than spouse	0	1
6. No person other than spouse	7 persons other than spouse	0	1
7. No person other than spouse	10 persons other than spouse	0	1
8. No person other than spouse	11 persons other than spouse	0	1
9. No person other than spouse	X * persons other than spouse	1	0
10. No person other than spouse	none until widowhood or divorce	1	1
11. 1 person other than spouse	0 person other than spouse	4	9
12. 1 person other than spouse	1 person other than spouse	1	1

13. 1 person other than spouse—2 persons other than spouse	1	1
14. 1 person other than spouse—3 persons other than spouse	1	1
15. 1 person other than spouse—4 persons other than spouse	0	1
16. 1 person other than spouse—6 persons other than spouse	1	0
17. 2 persons other than spouse—0 person other than spouse	3	1
18. 2 persons other than spouse—1 person other than spouse	1	0
19. 2 persons other than spouse—2 persons other than spouse	0	1
20. 2 persons other than spouse—4 persons other than spouse	0	1
21. 2 persons other than spouse—7 persons other than spouse	1	0
22. 2 persons other than spouse—11 persons other than spouse	1	0
23. 3 persons other than spouse—0 person other than spouse	4	1
24. 3 persons other than spouse—1 person other than spouse	2	0
25. 4 persons other than spouse—0 person other than spouse	2	1
26. 5 persons other than spouse—0 person other than spouse	3	0
27. 5 persons other than spouse—3 persons other than spouse	1	0
28. 5 persons other than spouse—7 persons other than spouse	1	0
29. 6 persons other than spouse—3 persons other than spouse	1	0
30. 6 persons other than spouse—8 persons other than spouse	1	0
31. 7 persons other than spouse—3 persons other than spouse	1	0
32. 8 persons other than spouse—0 person other than spouse	2	1
33. 9 persons other than spouse—7 persons other than spouse	1	0
34. 10 persons other than spouse—X persons other than spouse	1	0
35. 38 persons other than spouse—2 persons other than spouse	1	0
36. X persons other than spouse—0 person other than spouse	7	1
37. X persons other than spouse—1 person other than spouse	1	0
38. X persons other than spouse—X persons other than spouse	2	0
Total	54	39

Table 289

Card 25: Question 6: *"Is there a particular type of (person of the opposite sex) who appeals to you in a sexual way? If so, please describe the type."*

(Men)

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
1. Dark type	23	
2. Slender type	14	
3. Wife's type	14	
4. Intelligent type	14	

* Wherever "X" occurs in this table it means "copulated with so many different persons that no accurate estimate of their number can be made."

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
5. Woman with well-developed breasts	11	
6. Pretty; good-looking	10	
7. Good figure; well-built	10	
8. Tall	9	
9. Plump	8	
10. Small	8	
11. Fair type	7	
12. Well-sexed; passionate	7	
13. Blonde	6	
14. Warm coloring	6	
15. Medium height	6	
16. Dark eyes	5	
17. Quick; alert; alive	5	
18. Passive; yielding; feminine	5	
19. Vivacious	4	
20. Great vitality	4	
21. Beautiful body	4	
22. Companionable; interests in common	4	
23. Lithe	4	
24. Good legs	4	
25. Broad hips	4	
26. Thin	4	
27. Medium build	3	
28. Small ankles	3	
29. The Venus type; voluptuous build	3	
30. Big eyes	3	
31. Healthy type	3	
32. Neat; dresses in good taste	3	
33. Aggressive; dominating	3	
34. Athletic type	3	
35. Blue eyes	2	
36. Good character; kind he can respect	2	
37. Affectionate	2	
38. Short	2	
39. Well-developed hips	2	
40. Beautiful hands	2	
41. Big mouth	2	
42. Able to meet him on terms of equality	2	
43. Fine-boned	2	
44. 5 feet, 6 inches tall	2	
45. Emotional	2	
46. Accessible	2	
47. Sweet; soft	2	
48. Boyish appearance	2	

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
49. Artistic type	2	
50. Dark hair	2	
51. Quiet, gentle type	2	
52. Pretty mouth	1	
53. Sensitive mouth	1	
54. Full lips	1	
55. Good nostrils	1	
56. Good nose	1	
57. Upturned nose	1	
58. Oval face	1	
59. High cheek bones	1	
60. Regular features	1	
61. Round face	1	
62. Refined face	1	
63. Hungry expression	1	
64. White skin	1	
65. Not hairy	1	
66. Good complexion	1	
67. Hair on arms	1	
68. Physical cleanliness	1	
69. Long hair	1	
70. Beautiful hair	1	
71. Curly hair	1	
72. Bobbed hair	1	
73. Yellow hair	1	
74. Good arms	1	
75. Broad shoulders	1	
76. Good shoulders	1	
77. Small, firm breasts	1	
78. Big, soft legs	1	
79. Hips not too big	1	
80. Slender waist	1	
81. Trim figure	1	
82. Stocky	1	
83. Cab horse type	1	
84. Large women	1	
85. Graceful	1	
86. Sex magnetism	1	
87. Diana type	1	
88. Negro women	1	
89. Unsophisticated	1	
90. About 25 years old	1	
91. Immature as to age	1	
92. Young	1	

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
93. Simple	1	
94. Sophisticated	1	
95. Not a virgin	1	
96. Mean-looking personality	1	
97. Primitive type	1	
98. Independent type	1	
99. Not the clinging-vine type; not the traditional feminine type	1	
100. Must have personality	1	
101. Coquettish	1	
102. Cute; coy	1	
103. Gay; cheerful	1	
104. Not nervous; not decadent type	1	
105. Nervous type	1	
106. Witty	1	
107. High bred	1	
108. Like his mother	1	
109. A female reflection of himself	1	
110. Has no preference for a particular type	13	

(*Women*)

1. Tall men	21
2. Strong; athletic; big	21
3. Very intelligent	18
4. Husband's type	11
5. Dark men	11
6. Blonde men; fair men	8
7. Men who are gentle	3
8. Good-looking men	3
9. Masculine type	3
10. Quiet type	3
11. Man greatly interested in her	2
12. Refined type	2
13. Effeminate type	2
14. Nordic type	1
15. Norman type	1
16. Brown hair	1
17. Short	1
18. Rough-hewn	1
19. Arrow-collar face	1
20. Beautiful contour	1
21. Decided features	1
22. Aquiline type	1
23. Aggressive face	1

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
24. Clean-shaven		1
25. Large-headed		1
26. Head sticks out in the back		1
27. Much hair		1
28. Smooth skin		1
29. Nice voice		1
30. Fine hands		1
31. Slender		1
32. Thin		1
33. Delicate		1
34. Personally very clean		1
35. Good dancer		1
36. Not too young		1
37. Mature		1
38. Youthful		1
39. Introvert type		1
40. Extrovert type		1
41. Mentally slow		1
42. Mentally alert		1
43. Positive		1
44. Masterful		1
45. Dominating		1
46. Virile type		1
47. Steady type		1
48. Not temperamental		1
49. Emotions under good control		1
50. Bears self well in cities		1
51. Good poise		1
52. Honest		1
53. Bombastic		1
54. Exciting		1
55. Dynamic		1
56. Enthusiastic		1
57. Artistic type		1
58. Barrymore type		1
59. Has the play spirit		1
60. Exotic type		1
61. No inhibitions		1
62. Has no moral barriers		1
63. Sensitive		1
64. Fastidious		1
65. Maladjusted type		1
66. Big-ruffian, sweep-you-off-your-feet type		1
67. Affectionate		1

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
68. Not sentimental		1
69. Courteous		1
70. Considerate		1
71. Widely sympathetic		1
72. Meets women on an equal basis		1
73. Sense of humor		1
74. Loves nature		1
75. Loves children		1
76. Able to make direct contact with her		1
77. Type of man who has sex consciousness		1
78. Sexually well developed		1
79. Very passionate type		1
80. Primitive sexuality		1
81. Brother's type		1
82. Most men are sexually attractive		1
83. Has no preference for a particular type		52

Table 290

Card 25: Question 7: *"Is there a particular type of (person of the opposite sex) with whom, for any reason, you would shrink from having sex intercourse? If so, please describe the type."*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
	(*Men*)	
1. Fat	36	
2. Thin	18	
3. Ugly; not good looking	11	
4. Coarse in speech or behavior	11	
5. Unclean	9	
6. Big; heavy-set	9	
7. Lethargic; lacking vitality; slow	8	
8. Blonde	8	
9. Tall	7	
10. Women of other races	6	
11. Prostitutes	5	
12. Unhealthy; sickly	5	
13. Too short; too small	4	
14. Unpleasing voice	4	
15. Slovenly	4	

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
16. Masculine type	4	
17. Stupid; shallow	4	
18. Uncouth; awkward	3	
19. Light hair	3	
20. Dark type	3	
21. Hard-boiled type	3	
22. Any woman but his wife would be repulsive	3	
23. Tight-lipped; thin-lipped	2	
24. Pale	2	
25. Strong bodily odor	2	
26. Halitosis	2	
27. Poor complexion	2	
28. Too bold in dealing with men	2	
29. Lacking spirituality	2	
30. One who uses paint and other cosmetics	2	
31. Protruding chin	1	
32. Chinless	1	
33. Small mouth	1	
34. Thick lips	1	
35. Protruding teeth	1	
36. Doll-baby face	1	
37. Pimply	1	
38. Muddy skin	1	
39. Swarthy	1	
40. Dead white skin	1	
41. Peroxide blonde	1	
42. Dark hair	1	
43. Coarse, greasy hair	1	
44. Blue eyes	1	
45. Pale eyes	1	
46. Hair on body or arms	1	
47. Without any hair on her arms	1	
48. The kind that sweats easily	1	
49. The kind that uses too much scent	1	
50. Pendulous breasts	1	
51. Shrunken, flabby, or undeveloped breasts	1	
52. Big hips	1	
53. Heavy legs	1	
54. Slender	1	
55. Flabby	1	
56. Deformed	1	
57. Raw-boned	1	
58. Voluptuous, animal type	1	
59. Gum chewers	1	

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
60. Motherly type	1	
61. Over-sweet, lushy	1	
62. School ma'am type	1	
63. Aggressive, positive type	1	
64. Married women	1	
65. Over-sophisticated	1	
66. Decadent type	1	
67. Nervous type.	1	
68. Clinging type.	1	
69. Too old	1	
70. Too old or too young	1	
71. Virgins	1	
72. Cold type	1	
73. Radical, propagandist type	1	
74. One who scoffs at radicalism	1	
75. Lacking culturally	1	
76. Unattractive personality	1	
77. Lacking sex appeal in her face	1	
78. No particular type	19	

(*Women*)

1. Fat	22
2. Coarse; gross; unrefined	20
3. Sensual, obviously sexual type	18
4. Short; small	17
5. Effeminate type	15
6. Most men	10
7. Any man but husband	9
8. Dirty	9
9. Frail; anaemic; delicate; sickly	6
10. Men of other races	6
11. Over-masculine; brutally male	6
12. Neurotic; unstable; drunken; hysterical	6
13. Dark type	5
14. Hairy men	4
15. Boys; immature males	3
16. Egotistical; conceited	3
17. Arrogant; bullying; domineering	3
18. Stupid; not intelligent type	3
19. Blonde	2
20. Homely	2
21. Not well developed physically	2
22. Gay; immoral	2
23. Unimaginative	2

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
24. Like father		2
25. Like the boy who frightened her at 6		1
26. Tall and thin and gawky		1
27. Burly		1
28. Large		1
29. Not in good physical condition		1
30. Pimply		1
31. Physically coarse		1
32. Wearing a moustache and beard		1
33. Wooly		1
34. Thin voice		1
35. Bad teeth		1
36. Thick lips		1
37. The adolescent type, with cold hands and swollen fingers		1
38. Clammy hands		1
39. Expressionless eyes		1
40. Long, thin neck		1
41. Sloping shoulders		1
42. Sensual mouth		1
43. Coarse mouth		1
44. Coarse hands		1
45. One-eyed		1
46. Abnormal		1
47. Diseased		1
48. Handsome		1
49. Dapper		1
50. Too well-bred looking		1
51. Greenwich Village type		1
52. Dissipated looking		1
53. Bombastic		1
54. Man-about-town type		1
55. One she couldn't respect intellectually		1
56. Not intellectual		1
57. Shallow		1
58. Man with whom she could have no intellectual bond		1
59. Unsophisticated type		1
60. Serious-minded type		1
61. Man whom she couldn't respect morally		1
62. Unkind		1
63. Selfish		1
64. Inconsiderate		1
65. Cold		1

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
66. Unsympathetic		1
67. Sarcastic		1
68. Diffident		1
69. Different outlook from her own		1
70. Married man		1
71. Husband's type		1
72. It would be repulsive to have sex intercourse with any man		1
73. No particular type		9

Table 291

Card 25: Question 8: *"When you first fell in love with the first (person of the opposite sex) whom you loved after puberty, and before you had begun to "spoon" with (that person), did you have sex feelings toward (that person), or was your love "pure" in the sense of being free from any conscious sex desire?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Had no conscious sex feelings or desire	60	67
2. Had sex feelings or desire	31	20
3. Always spooned (i.e., from the beginning)	1	2
4. "Don't know" and other inconclusive answers	8	11
Total	100	100

Table 292

Card 25: Question 9: *"Did spooning with (the first lover after puberty) excite your sex desire? If so, did such desire toward (that person) make you feel ashamed or queer?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Felt ashamed	12	7
2. Felt queer	6	4
3. Felt guilty	6	1
4. Felt afraid	0	1
5. Felt ashamed to face his mother	1	0

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
6. Didn't feel ashamed except to let family know	0	2
7. Felt it was ill bred to have an erection	1	0
8. Did not feel ashamed or queer	41	31
9. Had no sex desire	7	26
10. Didn't spoon	16	22
11. Inconclusive answers	10	6
Total	100	100

Table 293

Card 25: Question 10: *"Have you found sex intercourse with (a person of the opposite sex) whom you do not love physically satisfactory? Can you let yourself go sexually more easily with (a person of the opposite sex) whom you love or with one whom you do not love?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Has never copulated with any person but spouse	46	61
2. It makes no difference whether person is loved or not	2	0
3. Can let self go better with person loved	31	27
4. Can let self go better with person not loved	6	3
5. Formerly was better able to let self go with unloved person, but now it is better with loved person	2	0
6. Has found copulation with unloved persons satisfactory	4	6
7. Has always had some sort of love for persons (other than spouse) with whom copulation has been experienced	5	2
8. Inconclusive answers	4	1
Total	100	100

Table 294

Card 26: Question 1: *"If you have had sex intercourse with any (person of the opposite sex) other than your (spouse) during your married life, how have you justified it in your own mind?"* *

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Never had adulterous sex intercourse	72	76
2. Has not justified it; has not wholly justified it	7	4
3. Spouse knew about it and didn't disapprove	1	3
4. It helped rather than hurt the marital situation	2	1
5. Copulation, whether adulterous or not adulterous, requires no justification, it being a natural right of all persons	7	5
6. Loved the person with whom adultery was committed	1	1
7. Did not love the spouse	3	3
8. Sex relations with spouse were unsatisfactory	4	7
9. Spouse had already committed adultery	1	0
10. Spouse refused to bear children	1	0
11. Was drunk at the time	1	0
Total	100	100

Table 295

Card 26: Question 2: *"What, if any, circumstances, in your opinion, justify a married (person) in having sex intercourse with a person other than (his or her spouse)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
	(*Men*)	
1. Nothing	10	
2. Doesn't justify it, but is tolerant	4	
3. Can justify it intellectually, but emotionally is against it	1	

* Many of the subjects justified their adultery on more than one of the above listed grounds, but in calculating totals only the most outstanding feature of each individual's answer was entered. Persons who alluded to what they regarded as extenuating circumstances but who stated that they had not wholly justified their adultery were listed as not having justified it.

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
4. Is uncertain about it	5	
5. Wife's sexual unresponsiveness	9	
6. Wife's refusal to do her part sexually	8	
7. Husband's dissatisfaction with wife sexually	19	
8. If wife is sexually anaesthetic	1	
9. Wife's inability to function adequately in copulation	1	
10. If husband is too passionate for wife's comfort	1	
11. If physical invalidism or insanity of wife prevent copulation	8	
12. Wife's pregnancy	1	
13. Wife's absence	3	
14. If husband and wife do not attract each other	1	
15. If wife does not love husband	4	
16. If husband does not love wife	10	
17. If husband and wife do not love each other	1	
18. If they are unhappily married	2	
19. If there is no spiritual companionship with the wife	1	
20. Wife's infidelity	1	
21. Wife's refusal to bear children	1	
22. If wife can't bear children and the other woman is willing to bear him a child	1	
23. If wife does not live with husband	2	
24. If husband loves the woman with whom he is adulterous	9	
25. If it is essential to the adequate release of his tension	1	
26. If he wants to do so so badly that he can't refrain	1	
27. If his desire for the other woman is so great that it interferes with his life	1	
28. If it enriches his life	1	
29. If it will help to overcome his sex maladjustment	1	
30. "A man needs a change, sexually"	1	
31. "Men who cut loose once in a while are better husbands"	1	
32. "It is better than to hold your unfreedom as a grievance against your wife"	1	
33. If he can live a fuller life thereby without hurting his wife	1	
34. If he does not hurt his wife thereby	1	
35. If he can do it without spoiling his marriage	1	

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
36. If it is a secondary matter in his life and doesn't essentially impair his marriage	1	
37. If they have built up nothing that would be hurt by it	1	
38. If it brings more happiness than injury	2	
39. If it doesn't hurt anybody	1	
40. If it doesn't injure the woman	3	
41. If the welfare of the children is considered	2	
42. If his pleasure will outweigh any suffering that he may cause by it	1	
43. If it doesn't disturb his own mind	1	
44. If the various expediencies are given due recognition	1	
45. His wife's consent	1	
46. His willingness to accord his wife the same privilege	1	
47. If he tells his wife	7	
48. If husband and wife agree to sex freedom	3	
49. If he feels that he is justified	2	
50. If he can prevent his wife from knowing about it	1	
51. It is a purely personal matter	1	
52. Can see no reason why marriage should be monogamous	1	
53. There is no reason why copulation should be set apart from other types of enjoyment with women	1	
54. "There are probably justifiable cases"	3	
55. It needs no justification	2	
56. One cannot lay down a general rule	2	

(*Women*)

1. Nothing	16
2. Nothing, if a real marriage exists	1
3. Nothing, if you love your husband	1
4. Nothing, if you have children	1
5. Nothing, with the possible exception of a woman preferring the other man as the father of her child	1
6. Nothing, with the possible exception of cases in which a woman who has married twice prefers to go back to her first husband	1
7. Nothing, but there might be special circumstances which would make it pardonable	1

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
8. Nothing, from a moral standpoint		1
9. She could not justify it for herself (has not been adulterous)		7
10. Her religion would prevent it		1
11. Nothing, unless there is separation		2
12. It would be better first to get a divorce		1
13. Only if there is no way of getting a divorce		1
14. Don't know, but is tolerant in the matter		1
15. Promiscuity is not practical		1
16. Is uncertain about it		6
17. If husband is unable to satisfy her sexually		12
18. As an experiment, to see if her inability to be satisfied by her husband is due to her own abnormality or to their sexual uncongeniality		1
19. If husband is hopelessly ill		1
20. If husband is in prison for a long term		1
21. If husband is a cripple		1
22. If husband has a venereal disease		2
23. If sex relations with each other are unsatisfactory to both spouses		1
24. If husband doesn't love her		2
25. If husband is indifferent to her and interested in other women		1
26. If husband is not interested in her sexually		1
27. If she doesn't love her husband		6
28. If she and husband no longer love each other		1
29. If she is unhappily married		4
30. If she has a valid love for the other man		15
31. Husband's infidelity		5
32. If she is very highly charged, sexually		1
33. People ought to get what they need if it is not at the expense of others		1
34. If she thinks that it will make her own marriage better		1
35. If it can be done without making anybody unhappy		1
36. It it doesn't destroy something which she prizes more deeply		1
37. If it enriches her life without destroying a fine relationship with her husband		1
38. If it is justified in its results		1
39. If it doesn't cause her husband suffering		1
40. If it works out satisfactorily for both her husband and herself		1

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
41. If it doesn't hurt some other person		1
42. If she first tells her husband		2
43. If the husband is willing		10
44. If the other man is unmarried		1
45. Why not?		1
46. Her desire is all the justification required		3
47. A woman's sex life is her own affair		1
48. No justification is needed		2
49. Believes in free love		1
50. Has no scruples against it		1
51. Passion is its own justification		1
52. It is normal for a woman to get sharp sex stimulation from a man to whom she is not married		1
53. It is not a moral question at all		1
54. It is a matter of practicability rather than of justifiability		1
55. If your motive is dignified and sincere		1
56. If she feels that she is justified		1
57. It is an individual problem, to be decided on its merits as such		12

Table 296

Card 26: Question 3: *"There are people who believe that even happily married people crave variety of sex experience. Do you believe that a happily married (person) comes in time to find (the spouse) so much less interesting sexually that (such a person) would normally crave sex experience with a less familiar (person) if conscience and prudence would permit? What has been your own experience in this matter?"*

A. Opinions as to What Is True of Men in General (Men's Answers)

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
1. "No" to the question as a whole	5	
2. Happily married men do not crave variety	1	
3. Only 5 percent to 10 percent of men are polygamous	1	

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
4. Monogamy is the ideal	1	
5. Some men are polygamous, some are monogamous	2	
6. Man is neither polygamous nor monogamous by nature	1	
7. "Yes" to the question as a whole	13	
8. Man is naturally polygamous	12	
9. Man naturally craves variety of sex experience, but he is not naturally polygamous	1	
10. It is true of many men	1	
11. Suppose it is true of men, but not markedly so	1	
12. Uncertain; don't know, etc.	61	
Total	100	

B. Opinions as to What Is True of Women in General (Women's Answers)

1. "No" to the question as a whole	9
2. Happily married women do not crave variety	15
3. Married women crave variety of sex experiences with their husbands	1
4. Women differ as to craving for variety of sex experience	1
5. "Yes" to the question as a whole	26
6. All women crave sex experience with less familiar men than their husbands	1
7. It is normal to be interested in other men sexually	1
8. Yes, for the average marriage this is true of women	1
9. Yes, in the sense that women crave consecutively monogamous sex relationships	1
10. Variety would be far more interesting than monogamy	1
11. Most women would like to copulate with men other than their husband after they are married a while	1
12. The way in which married people live together makes for boredom and a natural turning to others for sex experience	1
13. You would have more fun if you were promiscuous	1
14. Many women crave variety of sex experience	1

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
15. Most women come to crave variety of sex experience, but there are some one-man women		1
16. If happily but not too happily married, a woman might crave variety of sex experience		1
17. A good many women dally with the idea of variety of sex experience		1
18. Some women certainly do crave variety		2
19. Variety might be thrilling		1
20. Yes, possibly women do crave variety		1
21. A highly sexed woman might crave variety		1
22. Uncertain; don't know, etc.		31
Total		100

C. What the Subjects Believe to Be True of Themselves as to Craving for Variety of Sex Experience

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Does not crave variety of sex experience	6	33
2. Is not naturally polygamous	20	1
3. Would not crave variety if spouse were sexually satisfactory	3	3
4. Monogamy is the ideal	1	0
5. Craves variety of sex experience	41	29
6. Is somewhat polygamous	3	0
7. Variety of sex experience might be thrilling	0	1
8. Dallies with the idea of variety	6	2
9. Has craved variety, but spouse is sexually unsatisfactory	0	2
10. Has curiosity in the matter, not craving	0	1
11. Don't know; uncertain, etc.	20	28
Total	100	100

Table 297

Card 26: Question 4: *"If your (spouse) has any mental or physical traits which render (her or him) less attractive to you sexually than you would like, please describe them."* *

* Many of the answers to this question were so concretely descriptive of the subjects' spouses that publication of the list in detail would be unfairly identifying.

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Traits relating to disposition or mentality	28	41
2. Traits relating to sex capacity or modes of sex performance	19	16
3. Physical traits other than those relating directly to spouse's sex capacity or modes of sex performance	42	19
4. Uncertain	1	0
5. Spouse has no mental or physical traits which make for sexual unattractiveness	34	42
Total	124	118

Table 298

Card 26: Question 5: *"Do you like to imagine while you are having sex intercourse with your spouse that it is some other (person) with whom you are having the sex act?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	64	73
2. Tries to imagine husband as he was when they were first married	0	1
3. Yes, qualified.	19	9
4. Yes	15	16
5. Inconclusive answers	2	1
Total	100	100

Table 299

Card 26: Question 6: *"Are you in love with some other (person) than your (spouse)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	77	76
2. No, excepting that he is in love with his mother	2	0
3. Uncertain about it	5	8
4. Yes, qualified	1	2
5. Yes	15	14
Total	100	100

Table 300

Card 26: Question 7: *"If you are in love with some person other than your (spouse), please describe (that person), giving age, color of hair and eyes, complexion, figure, height, and disposition."* *

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
A. Subject's Age		
1. 25 to 30 inclusive	1	12
2. 31 to 35 inclusive	5	8
3. 36 to 40 inclusive	9	2
4. More than 40 years old	5	4
5. Is not in love with any person other than spouse	80†	74†
Total	100	100
B. Relative Age of Subject and Lover		
1. Lover is younger than subject	18	7
2. Lover and subject are of equal age	1	2
3. Lover is older than subject	1	17
4. Is not in love with any person other than spouse	80†	74†
Total	100	100

Table 301

Card 27: Question 1: *"Did you have sex intercourse with your spouse the first night of your marriage? If not, why not?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No, no explanation given	0	1
2. No, imperforate hymen made it impossible	4	5
3. No, he had premature orgasm	1	2

* Most of the details of description were sought for purposes of correlation with data concerning the mental and physical traits of members of the family of the opposite sex, and since such data will not be used for that purpose in the present report they are not included here.

† The discrepancies between these totals and those of *Table 299* are due to some of the subjects' unwillingness to regard doubtful cases as love affairs.

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
4. No, he couldn't retain his erection long enough	1	0
5. No, they tried, unsuccessfully	3	3
6. No, he was not interested in copulation	1	0
7. No, he was too nervous and ignorant	1	0
8. No, he was too much embarrassed	1	0
9. No, he didn't ask for sex intercourse	0	1
10. No, he thought that he ought to wait until later	4	1
11. No, he wished to defer it for a more romantic setting	1	0
12. No, her fear prevented it	2	3
13. No, she was averse to it	2	2
14. No, she was too homesick for her father	1	0
15. No, they believed in copulation for procreation only	3	3
16. No, they felt that their marriage was on a plane above the physical	0	1
17. No, they thought that copulation was not a thing to rush into	0	1
18. No, they were so happy to be together that it seemed unnecessary	0	2
19. No, they didn't get to it, somehow	0	1
20. No, they had a quarrel	0	1
21. No, they didn't know how to prevent pregnancy	4	0
22. No, they had no contraceptives at hand	1	2
23. No, they were too tired as a result of the wedding activities	0	1
24. No, they lacked opportunity (secret marriage, separated directly after the wedding, etc.)	2	4
25. No, she was menstruating	5	5
26. No, she was pregnant	1	1
27. No, he was ill	0	1
28. Yes, they copulated the first night	29	28
29. Question unimportant, since they were copulating before marriage.	33	31
Total	100	100

Table 302

Card 27: Question 2: *"Did you feel any reluctance or aversion to the act the first time you had sex intercourse with (your spouse)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	79	65
2. No, but had some anxiety	2	0
3. No, but didn't have much desire	3	0
4. No, but feared conception	1	0
5. Was disappointed by wife's negative attitude	1	0
6. Was reluctant to cause wife pain	1	0
7. Was reluctant because he felt unworthy	1	0
8. Felt very shy	0	2
9. Was reluctant because he didn't desire sex intercourse	1	0
10. Felt reluctance (not amplified)	6	5
11. Felt a slight aversion	1	0
12. Felt aversion	1	12
13. Felt horrified	0	1
14. Fear predominated	0	9
15. Yes, answer not amplified	3	5
16. Resisted copulation second time husband desired it	0	1
Total	100	100

Table 303

Card 27: Question 3: (*For Men*) *"Did you have difficulty in getting and keeping an erection for the first act with your wife?"* (*For Women*) *"Did he have difficulty in getting and keeping an erection for the first act with you?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	85	70
2. Yes, he had premature orgasms	5	5
3. Yes	10	16
4. Inconclusive answers	0	9
Total	100	100

Table 304

Card 27: Question 4: *"Did your (spouse) show aversion to the sex act the first time?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
A. Answers of Men		
1. No	71	
2. She feared conception	1	
3. She was timid and nervous	9	
4. She was afraid	5	
5. She showed aversion because of pain	1	
6. She lacked desire	2	
7. She showed reluctance, not aversion	1	
8. She was disappointed because it was so difficult	1	
9. She wept after the act	1	
10. She showed aversion after the act	1	
11. She showed aversion	7	
Total	100	
B. Answers of Women		
1. No		94
2. He was nervous and fearful of failure		1
3. He was self-conscious and inept		1
4. He was much embarrassed		1
5. He lacked desire		1
6. He showed aversion		2
Total		100

Table 305

Card 27: Question 5: *"Did you indulge in the sex act with your (spouse) before marriage?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	67	69
2. Yes	33	31
Total	100	100

Table 306

Card 27: Question 6: *"How frequently do you now indulge in the sex act with your (spouse)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Is divorced, separated, or widowed	9	12
2. None in the last 10 years	0	1
3. None in the last 10 months	0	1
4. None in the last 6 months	0	1
5. Almost not at all	2	1
6. Rarely	0	2
7. 3 or 4 times a year	1	2
8. Less often than monthly	1	2
9. About once a month	2	1
10. 2 or 3 times monthly	9	14
11. About once a week	24	11
12. 1 to 2 times a week	0	8
13. 2 times a week	21	10
14. 2 to 4 times a week	14	23
15. 4 to 5 times a week	2	3
16. 6 times a week	1	0
17. Nightly or more than once in a night for periods	5	4
18. Varies (not more specifically answered)	8	2
19. Frequently but incompletely, because of husband's partial impotency (erections not adequate)	0	1
20. Inconclusive answers	1	1
Total	100	100

Table 307

Card 27: Question 7: *"How frequently (did you indulge in the sex act) during the first year?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Had no sex intercourse during the first year of marriage	2	2
2. Had no sex intercourse during the first 9 months of marriage	1	0
3. Had no sex intercourse during the first 7 months of marriage	1	0

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
4. About once in 6 months	1	0
5. Infrequently	2	2
6. About once a month	1	2
7. 2 to 3 times a month	2	6
8. About once a week	12	7
9. 1 to 2 times a week	0	7
10. 2 times a week	23	7
11. 2 to 4 times a week	29	27
12. 4 to 5 times a week	4	9
13. 6 times a week; almost nightly	1	7
14. Nightly or more than once a night for periods	18	1
15. Nightly	0	7
16. More than 7 times a week	0	5
17. Frequently	1	2
18. Very frequently	2	3
19. Excessively for a while	0	1
20. Early pregnancy interfered with their sex life	0	4
21. Husband's illness interfered with their sex life	0	1
Total	100	100

Table 308

Card 27: Question 8: *"Has your (spouse) ever suspected you of having the sex act with other (persons)? Is there any ground for (such) suspicion?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
A. Presence or Absence of Spousal Suspicion		
1. Spouse has never had such suspicion	71	67
2. Spouse knows about subject's pre-marital copulations	4	8
3. Spouse knows about subject's post-marital copulations	9	9
4. Spouse is jealous of subject's pre-marital sex life	2	0
5. Spouse suspects subject of pre-marital copulation	1	2
6. Spouse suspects subject of post-marital copulation	12	10
7. Thinks that spouse may suspect post-marital copulation	1	4
Total	100	100

B. Grounds for Spousal Suspicion

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Spouse never had such suspicion	71	67
2. Spouse knows about subject's pre-marital or post-marital copulations	13	17
3. There *are* grounds for spouse's jealousy of subject's pre-marital sex life	2	0
4. There *are* grounds for spouse's known or suspected suspicion that subject had pre-marital sex intercourse	1	0
5. There *are no* grounds for spouse's known or suspected suspicion that subject had pre-marital sex intercourse	0	2
6. There *are* grounds for spouse's known or suspected suspicion that subject had post-marital sex intercourse	6	9
7. There *are no* grounds for spouse's known or suspected suspicion that subject had post-marital sex intercourse	7	5
Total	100	100

Table 309

Card 27: Question 9: *"Have you ever suspected your (spouse) of having sex intercourse with other (persons), either before or after your marriage? What are the grounds for your suspicion?"* *

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No to the question as a whole	68	58
2. Subject knows that spouse had pre-marital sex intercourse with person other than subject	10	17
3. The subject knows that spouse had post-marital sex intercourse with person other than subject	11	11
4. Subject knows that spouse had both pre-marital and post-marital sex intercourse with persons other than subject	1	6
5. Subject formerly suspected that spouse had pre-marital sex intercourse, but no longer has this suspicion.	2	0

* A list of the answers to the part of this question which asks for grounds of suspicion cannot be given without danger of identifying individual subjects.

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
6. Subject formerly suspected that spouse had post-marital sex intercourse, but no longer has this suspicion	6	0
7. Subject suspects that spouse had pre-marital sex intercourse	2	1
8. Subject suspects that spouse had post-marital sex intercourse	0	7
Total	100	100

Table 310

Card 28: Question 1: (*For Men*) *"Do you have difficulty in entering your wife because she is too small at the entrance to her sex part?"* (*For Women*) *"Does your husband have difficulty in entering you because you are too small at the entrance to your sex part?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	73	74
2. Not now, but had difficulty at first	11	3
3. Has difficulty sometimes	5	5
4. Has some, but not much, difficulty	1	2
5. Yes, there is such difficulty	10	16
Total	100	100

Table 311

Card 28: Question 2: *"Does (the wife) seem to have a spasm (at the vaginal entrance) which makes it difficult for (the husband) to enter (her)?"* **Question 3:** *"If so, was this always so, or did it begin after you had been married some time?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. The wife has no such spasm	78	88
2. She had such spasm only at the beginning of marriage	5	1
3. Such spasm occurred more frequently early in marriage than now	0	2

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
4. She has had such spasm only since the child was born	1	0
5. She has always had such spasm	12	8
6. Such spasm is of rare occurrence	4	1
Total	100	100

Table 312

Card 28: Question 4: *"Does the sex act cause (the wife) pain?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	65	75
2. Formerly caused pain—does not now	9	0
3. Only the first few copulations after childbirth	1	2
4. Only during pregnancy	1	0
5. Only the first copulation after menstruation	0	1
6. Occasionally	20	15
7. Only a little pain	1	0
8. Yes, the sex act causes pain	2	5
9. Only pleasant pain	0	1
10. Copulation causes nausea, not pain	0	1
11. Don't know	1	0
Total	100	100

Table 313

Card 28: Question 5: *"Has (the wife) any kind of so-called 'female disease' which makes the sex act painful to (her)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	89	88
2. Discusses former pelvic disorders which are no longer present	0	5
3. Leucorrhoea	1	0
4. Infected Bartholin's glands	1	0
5. Non-specific vaginitis	0	1
6. Chronic pelvic cellulitis	1	0
7. Perineal or cervical lacerations	1	0

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
8. Alleged ovarian disorders	1	0
9. Uterine malpositions	5	6
10. Vaginal malformation	1	0
Total	100	100

Table 314

Card 28: Question 6: *"If (the wife has a 'female disease'), how does this affect your own satisfaction with (your spouse) as a sex object?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. The wife has no "female disease"	89	88
2. Her "female disease" adversely affects pleasure in copulation	7	3
3. Her "female disease" usually does not adversely affect pleasure in copulation	0	2
4. Her "female disease" has no unfavorable effect	4	7
Total	100	100

Table 315

Card 28: Question 7: *"Does (the husband) practise withdrawal?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	40	38
2. Did formerly but does not now	15	14
3. Rarely	10	11
4. Occasionally	13	11
5. Often; usually	4	8
6. Yes, he practises withdrawal	17	17
7. He practises coitus reservatus, not withdrawal	1	1
Total	100	100

Table 316

Card 28: Question 8: *"If (the husband practises withdrawal), what does (he) do to complete (his) pleasure after withdrawing?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. He does not practise withdrawal	40	38
2. He does not complete the act for himself	3	2
3. Nothing necessary—has his orgasm spontaneously after withdrawing	38	31
4. He takes her in his arms	0	1
5. He embraces her closely	0	1
6. He rubs his sex organ against her thighs or hips	8	6
7. She masturbates him	1	7
8. He masturbates himself	4	3
9. He applies a contraceptive device and reenters her	0	1
10. Inconclusive answers	6	10
Total	100	100

Table 317

Card 28: Question 9: *"If (the husband) practises withdrawal, have you noticed any ill effects to either of you which seem to be due to this habit? If so, what ill effects?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Husband does not practise withdrawal	40	38
2. Withdrawal leaves wife unsatisfied, but has no other ill effect	1	8
3. It leaves husband unsatisfied, but has no other ill effect	14	3
4. It impairs wife's chance of having an orgasm	1	0
5. It affects wife unfavorably: "nervous," "tense," "irritable," "depressed," or "let down" after the act	1	9
6. It affects husband unfavorably: "nervous," "tense," "irritable," "depressed," or "let down" after the act	11	8
7. The husband has pain in his testicles afterward	1	0

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
8. It unfavorably affects both spouses	2	4
9. The only disadvantage that withdrawal ever brought was an unplanned pregnancy	1	0
10. Withdrawal has had no observable ill effects	28	30
Total	100	100

Table 318

Card 28: Question 10: *"Are you and your (spouse) more or less friendly and affectionate during the first 24 hours after the sex act?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Neither more nor less after the act	29	28
2. Both spouses are more so after the act	49	41
3. The wife is more so after the act, the husband is unaffected	2	0
4. The husband is more so after the act, the wife is unaffected	3	8
5. The wife is more so after the act, the husband is less so	3	7
6. The husband is more so after the act, the wife is less so	0	1
7. The husband is less so after the act, the wife is unaffected	3	3
8. The wife is less so after the act, the husband is unaffected	1	1
9. Both spouses are less so after the act	4	2
10. Inconclusive answers	2	7
11. Both spouses are less so if the act has been unsuccessful for her, and more so if it has been successful	1	2
12. Both spouses were less so until she was sterilized	1	0
13. It varies.	2	0
Total	100	100

Table 319

Card 28: Question 11: *"Do you believe that it is right to have the sex act for any other purpose than to bring children into the world?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Yes, it is right	85	81
2. Formerly believed it to be wrong, now believes it to be right	11	12
3. It is unideal	1	2
4. Is in doubt as to whether it is right or wrong	2	2
5. Copulation for any other purpose than procreation is wrong	1	3
Total	100	100

Table 320

Card 28: Question 12: *"What is your (spouse's) belief in this matter (as to whether copulation for any other purpose than procreation is right or wrong)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Spouse believes it is right	92	93
2. Spouse formerly believed it to be wrong, now believes it to be right	7	2
3. Spouse believes that copulation for any other purpose than procreation is wrong	1	2
4. Don't know what the spouse's belief is in the matter	0	3
Total	100	100

III

When we pass from descriptions of the 200 spouses' post-pubertal sex lives to correlations which may suggest possible determinants of their tendencies and capacities, a great many more questions arise than can be profitably explored with the data from this limited number of cases.

In what follows a few of the more outstanding problems of post-pubertal sex life are considered.

1. *Table 284* shows that 32 men and 32 women experienced their first copulation after the age of 25. We have also seen that 46 of the men were virgins at marriage. These two facts will suggest to men of the older generation that their successors are becoming more rather than less conventional as regards pre-marital copulation. To those of us who were born before 1885 the figures in the next table are rather surprising:

Table 321

Relation between Date of Birth and First Sex Experience

Date of Birth	*First Sex Experience*		
	None Before Marriage	*With Spouse, Before Marriage*	*With Person Other Than Spouse, Before Marriage*
	Men		
1880 or earlier (10 cases)	2 (20.00%)	0 (0.00%)	8 (80.00%)
1881 to 1885 (13 cases)	5 (38.46%)	1 (7.69%)	7 (53.85%)
1886 to 1890 (36 cases)	18 (50.00%)	4 (11.11%)	14 (38.89%)
1891 or later (41 cases)	21 (51.22%)	5 (12.20%)	15 (36.59%)
Total (100 men)	46	10	44
	Women		
1880 or earlier (11 cases)	7 (63.64%)	0 (0.00%)	4 (36.36%)
1881 to 1885 (14 cases)	11 (78.57%)	2 (14.29%)	1 (7.14%)
1886 to 1890 (25 cases)	20 (80.00%)	2 (8.00%)	3 (12.00%)
1891 or later (50 cases)	27 (54.00%)	12 (24.00%)	11 (22.00%)
Total (100 women)	65	16	19

2. It has already been stated that 59 of the 100 men and 47 of the 100 women had copulated illicitly at some time in their lives. These figures include pre-marital copulations with spouses and persons other than spouses, and all illicit copulations after marriage. The next table is therefore a supplement to the one just given:

Table 322

Relation between Date of Birth and History as to Illicit Copulations.

Date of Birth	*Never Experienced Illicit Copulation*	*Has Experienced Illicit Copulation*
	Men	
1880 or earlier (10 cases)	2 (20.00%)	8 (80.00%)
1881 to 1885 (13 cases)	4 (30.77%)	9 (69.23%)
1886 to 1890 (36 cases)	15 (41.67%)	21 (58.33%)
1891 or later (41 cases)	20 (48.78%)	21 (51.22%)
Total (100 men)	41	59
	Women	
1880 or earlier (11 cases)	6 (54.55%)	5 (45.45%)
1881 to 1885 (14 cases)	8 (57.14%)	6 (42.86%)
1886 to 1890 (25 cases)	19 (76.00%)	6 (24.00%)
1891 or later (50 cases)	20 (40.00%)	30 (60.00%)
Total (100 women)	53	47

It is obvious, of course, that the percentage figures (in parentheses) in *Tables 321* and *322* must be used for purposes of comparison. For both sexes these percentages indicate an increasing tendency toward conventionality of sex life with increasing lateness of birth year until 1890 is passed. After 1890 the men reach their maximum percentages indicating sexual conventionality, but after this date the women show the exact opposite: their maximum percentages of sexual *un*conventionality are attained after 1890. This suggests that our men are becoming more virtuous and our women less so.

This page is being written in April, 1928. My research

in marriage was begun late in September, 1924. Between these two dates my office has been a kind of clearing house, not only for the 200 spouses who were formally examined, but for many other persons who have a sufficiently personal interest in human sex problems to be frank about themselves when they consult me. Out of this total experience has come an inescapable conviction that the educated younger men and women, with their serious-minded but frankly experimental attitude toward sex, offer the student of human sex problems an opportunity which is likely to be unparalleled for many generations to come. They refuse to be superstitiously moralistic about sex; but they also refuse to be either obscenely furtive or inexpediently defiant and disorderly. Their attitude is essentially realistic, but (it is my impression) they are trying to be sane and broad-minded about it.

3. Adequacy of capacity to perform the sex act is much easier to estimate for women than for men. A woman either has the orgasm or fails to have it in a given act. Those who are doubtful if they have ever experienced the orgasm or who have had it but a few times during many scores or even hundreds of copulations, and those who have only the non-terminative, minor, multiple climaxes, form a group which is as distinctly separate from the group which I have classified as having an "adequate orgasm capacity" as the legally non-alcoholic beverages are different from the legally alcoholic ones. This has made it possible to classify each one of the 100 women as relatively adequate or definitely inadequate with respect to orgasms. Among the 100 women there was only one case of actual frigidity in the sense of there being persistent absence of sex desire and of sex feeling when the clitoris, vulvae, or vagina are stimulated, although there were a few women, to be discussed later, who respond to self-inflicted or homosexual stimuli rather than to heterosexual ones.

In the case of the men, all of the 100 reported ability to

have the orgasm with a fair degree of frequency. Their difficulties are described as (1) inability to develop or retain an adequate erection when copulation is impending, (2) premature orgasms, and, (3) very rarely, inability to experience any pleasurable feelings while the semen is being discharged. Such difficulties are likely to be episodical rather than chronic, but, when cases are sorted out for classification, no natural lines of demarcation appear between these two theoretically separable main groups. A woman who cannot have the orgasm in copulation with her husband will usually be found to be incapable of having it with any other man, but a man who is impotent with his wife may be vigorously potent for women with whom he has not had opportunities for developing the types of relationship which so commonly reduce the sexual reactive value of spouse for spouse. Once the sex act is initiated, a woman who is capable of having the orgasm at all stands a fair chance of gaining in responsiveness as the act proceeds, until finally her excitement reaches a degree of intensity at which this climax becomes possible, even though in the beginning she may have been but feebly responsive. A man, on the other hand, cannot initiate copulation without an adequate erection, and an erection may not occur in an even normally potent man unless the situation is reasonably conducive to sex excitement.

Subsequent and more extensive research in the problems of sex will in time doubtless make possible the definition of criteria for classifying men as to adequacy of capacity for functioning sexually, but neither my method nor the material obtained by it can fairly be said to have given me a right to undertake such a task at this stage of my work. However, in tracing, for women, the relationship between age at first copulation and present orgasm capacity there seems to be some point to study the distribution of the 15 men (*Table 303*) who either had premature orgasms or had difficulty in getting or keeping an erection for the first spousal sex act:

Table 323

Relation between Age at First Copulation with Any Woman and Success or Failure in the First Attempt to Copulate with the Wife.

Age at First Copulation with Any Woman	*Had No Difficulty*	*Had Premature Orgasms or Difficulty in Getting or Keeping an Erection*
1. 13 to 20 years old (29 cases) .	25 (86.21%)	4 (13.79%)
2. 21 to 25 years old (39 cases) .	36 (92.31%)	3 (7.69%)
3. 26 to 30 years old (25 cases) .	17 (68.00%)	8 (32.00%)
4. More than 30 years old (7 cases)	7 (100.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Total (100 cases) . . .	85	15

4.

Table 324

Relation between Age at First Copulation with Any Man and Present Orgasm Capacity. (For Women.)

Age at First Copulation with Any Man	*Present Orgasm Capacity Adequate*	*Inadequate*
1. 16 to 20 years old (16 cases) .	10 (62.50%)	6 (37.50%)
2. 21 to 25 years old (52 cases) .	27 (51.92%)	25 (48.08%)
3. 26 to 30 years old (25 cases) .	14 (56.00%)	11 (44.00%)
4. More than 30 years old (7 cases)	3 (42.86%)	4 (57.14%)
Total (100 cases) . . .	54	46

5.

Table 325

Relation between the Relative Age of the First Man with Whom Copulation Was Experienced and Present Orgasm Capacity. (For Women.)

Relative Age of First Man with Whom Copulation Was Experienced	*Present Orgasm Capacity Adequate*	*Inadequate*
1. First copulation with man younger than herself (12 cases)	9 (75.00%)	3 (25.00%)
2. Man of equal age to 5 years older than herself (56 cases) .	29 (51.79%)	27 (48.21%)
3. Man 6 to 10 years older than herself (22 cases) . . .	11 (50.00%)	11 (50.00%)
4. First man more than 10 years older than herself (10 cases) .	5 (50.00%)	5 (50.00%)
Total (100 cases) . . .	54	46

6. **Table 326**

Relation between Degree of Promiscuity and Present Orgasm Capacity. (For Women.)

Degree of Promiscuity	*Present Orgasm Capacity* Adequate	Inadequate
1. Never had illicit sex relations (53 cases)	30 (56.60%)	23 (43.40%)
2. Only illicit sex relations were with husband before marriage (8 cases)	5 (62.50%)	3 (37.50%)
3. Has had illicit sex relation with only one man other than husband (18 cases)	9 (50.00%)	9 (50.00%)
4. Has had illicit sex relations with two or more men other than husband (21 cases)	10 (47.62%)	11 (52.38%)
Total (100 cases)	54	46

7. **Table 327**

Relation of (1) Presence or Absence of Conscious Sex Feeling Toward First Male Loved After Puberty Before There Was Any Love-making to (2) Present Orgasm Capacity.

Presence or Absence of Conscious Sex Feeling	*Present Orgasm Capacity* Adequate	Inadequate
1. Had no conscious sex feeling or desire (67 cases)	37 (55.22%)	30 (44.78%)
2. Had conscious sex feeling or desire (20 cases)	12 (60.00%)	8 (40.00%)
3. All other cases (13 cases)	5 (38.46%)	8 (61.54%)
Total (100 cases)	54	46

8. **Table 328**

Relation of (1) Reaction to Her Own Sex Desire When This Was Elicited by Love-making with First Male Loved After Puberty to (2) Present Orgasm Capacity.

How Her Own Sex Desire Made Her Feel	*Present Orgasm Capacity* Adequate	Inadequate
1. Having sex desire made her feel ashamed, queer, guilty, afraid, or ashamed to let her family know that she was "spooning" (15 cases)	7 (46.67%)	8 (53.33%)
2. Having sex desire did not make her feel ashamed, queer, guilty, etc. (31 cases)	20 (64.52%)	11 (35.48%)
3. All other cases (54 cases) . .	27 (50.00%)	27 (50.00%)
Total (100 cases) . . .	54	46

9. Table 329

Relation of History as to Adultery (Having Sex Intercourse with a Man Other Than the Husband During Marriage) to Present Orgasm Capacity. (For Women.)

History as to Adultery	*Present Orgasm Capacity* Adequate	Inadequate
1. Has had adulterous sex relations (24 cases)	9 (37.50%)	15 (62.50%)
2. Has never had adulterous sex relations (76 cases) . . .	45 (59.21%)	31 (40.79%)
Total (100 cases) . . .	54	46

10. Table 330

Relation of Opinion as to Justifiability of Adultery to Present Orgasm Capacity. (For Women.)

Nature of Oponion as to Justifiability of Adultery	*Present Orgasm Capacity* Adequate	Inadequate
1. Nothing justifies it; nothing, if a real marriage exists; nothing, if you love your husband, and other opinions to the effect that adultery is difficult to justify (see types of answers listed as entries 1 to 13 in *Table 295*) (32 cases)	20 (62.50%)	12 (37.50%)
2. Answers implying that under certain conditions adultery is justifiable, or suggesting a lib-		

	Present Orgasm Capacity Adequate	Inadequate
eral but not radical attitude toward it (see types of answers listed as entries 14 to 44 in *Table 295*) (55 cases) . . .	29 (52.73%)	26 (47.27%)
3. Answers implying that adultery needs no justification or at least that only sincere and dignified motives are required: essentially radical opinions (see types of answers listed as entries 45 to 57 in *Table 295*) (13 cases) .	5 (38.46%)	8 (61.54%)
Total (100 cases) . . .	54	46

11. When the women were asked the third question on *Card 26,* 33 of them stated categorically that they do not crave variety of sex experience in the sense of having sex desire directed toward men other than their husbands. 29 stated categorically that they crave such variety. In the table which follows, the answers of the other 38 of the 100 women are simply thrown together as "all other cases." I believe that this procedure is justified by the desirability of avoiding interpretative classifications of answers wherever it is possible to do so.

Table 331

Relation of (1) Presence or Absence of Craving for Sex Experience with Men Other Than the Husband to (2) Present Orgasm Capacity. (For Women.)

Presence or Absence of Craving for Sex Experience with Men Other Than the Husband	*Present Orgasm Capacity* Adequate	Inadequate
1. Does not crave such variety of sex experience (33 cases) . .	19 (57.58%)	14 (42.42%)
2. Craves such variety of sex experience (29 cases) . . .	16 (55.17%)	13 (44.83%)
3. All other cases (38 cases) . .	19 (50.00%)	19 (50.00%)
Total (100 cases) . . .	54	46

12. Table 332

Relation of (1) Answer to the Question, "Are You in Love with Some Man Other Than Your Husband?" to (2) Present Orgasm Capacity.

"Are You in Love with Some Man Other Than Your Husband?"	*Present Orgasm Capacity*	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
1. No (76 cases)	44 (57.89%)	32 (42.11%)
2. Yes; yes, qualified; uncertain about it (24 cases) . . .	10 (41.67%)	14 (58.33%)
Total (100 cases) . . .	54	46

13. Table 333

Relation of Frequency of Copulation During First Year of Marriage to Present Orgasm Capacity. (For Women.)

Frequency of Copulation	*Present Orgasm Capacity*	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
1. Less than once a week (12 cases)	4 (33.33%)	8 (66.67%)
2. Not less than once nor more than four times a week (48 cases) .	25 (52.08%)	23 (47.92%)
3. More than four times a week (29 cases)	21 (72.41%)	8 (27.59%)
4. All other cases (11 cases) .	4 (36.36%)	7 (63.64%)
Total (100 cases) . . .	54	46

14. The question as to whether painfulness of copulation may be a factor in determining inability to have the orgasm in a considerable number of cases was in mind when the women were asked, "Does the sex act cause you pain?" Only 5 of our 100 women stated, without qualification, that copulation is painful to them. One of these five regularly experiences the orgasm in copulation, and four cannot have orgasms. All four of these women state that their pain is due to contraction of the vagina, which is touched off by the efforts of the male to enter them. This condition, which is technically known as *vaginismus,* appeared in each case to

be due to marked negative conditioning with reference to the sex act which followed specifically upsetting experiences. Later, adult intellectually-held convictions as to the rightfulness and desirability of copulation with the spouse did not overcome an earlier established tendency to withdraw from anything suggestive of the sex act in a peculiarly spasmodic, automatic, and unwitting manner. While there may be cases of vaginismus in which the spasm of the parts involved can be attributed to an initial painfulness, I have never encountered a woman with this difficulty who failed to present convincing evidence that it was of essentially psychological origin. This, I find, is a debatable point in the minds of some of the gynecologists.

IV

If we may assume that men and women will continue to marry for at least several generations to come, all efforts to isolate the various possible determinants of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the marital situation as a whole are of interest from a psychobiological as well as from a sociological viewpoint. The spouse who is currently dissatisfied with his or her marriage to a significant degree may escape a neurosis or a psychoneurosis, but, as is true in any kind of chronic unhappiness, such dissatisfaction will in the end almost surely lead to crippling impairments of both physiological and psychological function. Now the relation of both pre-marital and post-marital promiscuity to the degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with marriage as a whole enters here as a matter of considerable importance, especially since the younger generation has begun to question seriously the validity of those tuitional impositions which narrowly define what are permissible modes of sex behavior. Opinions based on non-scientific—hence unchecked—observations have value of a kind, but they are altogether too likely to reflect what their proponents like to believe. The correlations which follow are

not offered as having solved any phase of the general problem in question, but as descriptions of comparable data they at least bring to formulation certain possibilities which deserve further exploration:

15. **Table 334**

Relation between History as to Presence or Absence of Virginity at Marriage and Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole.

(*For Men*)

Presence or Absence of Virginity at Marriage	*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*		
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
1. He was a virgin at marriage (46 cases) * . .	26 (56.52%)	5 (10.87%)	15 (32.61%)
2. He was not a virgin at marriage (54 cases) . .	25 (46.30%)	8 (14.81%)	21 (38.89%)
Total (100 cases) . .	51	13	36

(*For Women*)

1. She was a virgin at marriage (65 cases) . . .	32 (49.23%)	11 (16.92%)	22 (33.85%)
2. She was not a virgin at marriage (35 cases)	13 (37.14%)	3 (8.57%)	19 (54.29%)
Total (100 cases) . .	45	14	41

* Seven men and 3 women had been married twice. Their present degrees of satisfaction with their marriages have reference, of course, to their second marriages, but they are listed with the virgins-at-marriage if they had not experienced copulation before the first marriage.

16. Table 335

Relation of Degree of Promiscuity to Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole.

(*For Men*)

Degree of Promiscuity	*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*		
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
1. Never had illicit sex intercourse (41 cases) . .	25 (60.87%)	5 (12.20%)	11 (26.83%)
2. Only illicit sex intercourse was with wife, before marriage (5 cases) . . .	3 (60.00%)	2 (40.00%)	0 (0.00%)
3. Has had illicit sex intercourse with only 1 woman other than wife (5 cases) . . .	2 (40.00%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (60.00%)
4. Has had illicit sex intercourse with 2 or more women other than wife (49 cases) . . .	21 (42.86%)	6 (12.24%)	22 (44.90%)
Total (100 cases) . .	51	13	36

(*For Women*)

1. Never had illicit sex intercourse (53 cases) . .	29 (54.72%)	8 (15.09%)	16 (30.19%)
2. Only illicit sex intercourse was with husband, before marriage (8 cases) . . .	3 (37.50%)	1 (12.50%)	4 (50.00%)
3. Has had illicit sex intercourse			

	Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage		
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
with only 1 man other than husband (18 cases)	7 (38.89%)	3 (16.67%)	8 (44.44%)
4. Has had illicit sex intercourse with 2 or more men other than husband (21 cases) . . .	6 (28.57%)	2 (9.52%)	13 (61.90%)
Total (100 cases) . .	45	14	41

17. **Table 336**

Rélation of History as to Adultery to Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole.

(*For Men*)

	Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage		
History as to Adultery	*Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)*	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
1. Has never committed adultery (72 cases) . .	43 (59.72%)	9 (12.50%)	20 (27.78%)
2. Has committed adultery (28 cases) . . .	8 (28.57%)	4 (14.29%)	16 (57.14%)
Total (100 cases) . .	51	13	36

(*For Women*)

1. Has never committed adultery (76 cases) . .	41 (53.96%)	10 (13.16%)	25 (32.89%)
2. Has committed adultery (24 cases) . . .	4 (16.67%)	4 (16.67%)	16 (66.67%)
Total (100 cases) . .	45	14	41

18. Table 337

Relation of Opinion as to Justification of Adultery to Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole.

(*For Men*)

Opinion as to Justification of Adultery	*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*		
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
1. Answers to the effect that nothing justifies adultery, or that it is difficult to justify (15 cases) .	6 (40.00%)	2 (13.33%)	7 (46.67%)
2. Answers to the effect that under certain conditions it is justifiable, or suggesting a liberal but not radical attitude toward it (69 cases) . .	38 (55.07%)	8 (11.59%)	23 (33.33%)
3. Answers implying that it needs no justification or otherwise suggesting radical opinions on the subject (16 cases)	7 (43.75%)	3 (18.75%)	6 (37.50%)
Total (100 cases) . .	51	13	36

(*For Women*)

1. Answers to the effect that nothing justifies adultery, or that it is difficult to justify (32 cases) .	15 (46.88%)	5 (15.62%)	12 (37.50%)

	Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage		
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
2. Answers to the effect that under certain conditions it is justifiable, or suggesting a liberal but not radical attitude toward it (55 cases) . .	25 (45.45%)	9 (16.36%)	21 (38.18%)
3. Answers implying that it needs no justification or otherwise suggesting radical opinions on the subject (13 cases) . . .	5 (38.46%)	0 (0.00%)	8 (61.54%)
Total (100 cases) . .	45	14	41

19. **Table 338**

Relation of Presence or Absence of Craving for Sex Experience with Persons Other Than the Spouse to Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole.

(For Men)

Presence or Absence of Craving for Sex Experience with Persons Other Than the Spouse	*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*		
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
1. Does not crave such variety of sex experience (6 cases) . . .	2 (33.33%)	0 (0.00%)	4 (66.67%)
2. Craves such variety of sex experience (41 cases) .	17 (41.46%)	9 (21.95%)	15 (36.59%)
3. All other cases (53 cases) . .	32 (60.38%)	4 (7.55%)	17 (32.08%)
Total (100 cases) . .	51	13	36

(*For Women*)

	Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage		
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
1. Does not crave such variety of sex experience (33 cases) . .	20 (60.61%)	6 (18.18%)	7 (21.21%)
2. Craves such variety of sex experience (29 cases) .	9 (31.03%)	3 (10.34%)	17 (58.62%)
3. All other cases (38 cases) . .	16 (42.11%)	5 (13.16%)	17 (44.74%)
Total (100 cases) . .	45	14	41

20. **Table 339**

Relation of Frequency of Copulation During First Year of Marriage to Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole.

(*For Men*)

	Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage		
Frequency of Copulation During First Year of Marriage	*Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)*	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
1. Less than once a week (10 cases)	5 (50.00%)	2 (20.00%)	3 (30.00%)
2. Not less than once nor more than four times a week (64 cases)	37 (57.81%)	4 (6.25%)	23 (35.94%)
3. More than four times a week (23 cases) . . .	8 (34.78%)	6 (26.09%)	9 (39.13%)
4. All other cases (3 cases) . .	1 (33.33%)	1 (33.33%)	1 (33.33%)
Total (100 cases) . .	51	13	36

(*For Women*)

	Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage		
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
1. Less than once a week (12 cases)	7 (58.33%)	1 (8.33%)	4 (33.33%)
2. Not less than once nor more than four times a week (48 cases)	23 (47.92%)	6 (12.50%)	19 (39.58%)
3. More than four times a week (29 cases) . . .	10 (34.48%)	6 (20.69%)	13 (44.83%)
4. All other cases (11 cases) . .	5 (45.45%)	1 (9.09%)	5 (45.45%)
Total (100 cases) . .	45	14	41

CHAPTER XVI

Subjective Inferiorities

I

A feeling of inferiority may or may not be based upon what is objectively true of the individual who entertains it; it may ordinarily exist only as a vague and unrecognized component of a general background-mood of discomfort, and only now and then come into the foreground of consciousness as a sense of defect; it may currently have recognition and elicit deliberate efforts to overcome or compensate for it; finally, the individual's behavior may be such that, as Alfred Adler * has shown us, we may justifiably postulate an underlying urge to balance defects of which there may be little or no specific awareness. The whole inferiority problem is a vastly important one, and has evoked a great deal of inference and speculation on the part of the psychoanalysts. It has seemed to me that the obvious first approach to a scientific investigation of this problem requires us to employ adequate methods of examination for the purpose of obtaining accounts of inferiorities from the individual of which he is clearly aware as more or less distressing facts of subjective experience. The 200 persons who told me about their subjective inferiorities doubtless have, in a sense, others of which they are unaware and for which they are unwittingly trying to compensate, but at the present stage of psychobiological research this probability cannot be scientifically explored until a great deal of time and hard work can be devoted to

* Adler, Alfred—A Study of Organ Inferiority and Its Psychical Compensation. Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph, Series No. 24. New York, 1916.

the development of an appropriate examination technique.

The relevancy of a study of subjective inferiorities to a research in the problems of sex in the marital relation will appear, I hope, in what follows.

Table 340

Card 29: Question 1: (*For Men*) *"Do you fear, or have you ever feared, that your sex organ might be considered smaller than that of the average man if it were exposed to persons who might take notice of such things?"* (*For Women*) *"Do you fear, or have you ever feared, that the sex part of you might be unlike that of other women?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
Answers of Men		
1. Yes, has a very lively fear that sex organ may seem too small	2	
2. Yes, fears that sex organ may seem too small	7	
3. Yes, but fear that sex organ may seem too small is only a vague and fleeting one	1	
4. Yes, has been embarrassed at times by feeling that sex organ may seem too small, but it is not a serious matter	1	
5. Yes, has sometimes thought sex organ might be too small	2	
6. Yes, has mildly feared that sex organ might seem too small	1	
7. *Formerly* feared that sex organ might seem too small	15	
8. His sex organ is too small, but he doesn't care	6	
9. He has wondered at times if his sex organ may not be too small	2	
10. Has not feared that his sex organ might seem too small, but fears that it may show the effects of masturbation	2	
11. He has some fear that his sex organ may be too large.	1	
12. Realizes that his testicles lack symmetry	1	
13. "No" to the question as a whole	59	
Total	100	

Answers of Women

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Women*
1. Yes, she fears that her sex parts may be different from those of other women	7
2. She is worried by changes that have been made in her sex parts by childbirth	2
3. She formerly feared lest her sex parts might not be normally constructed	12
4. Has thought that she may be inferior to other women as to capacity for sexual response	7
5. Formerly thought that she was inferior to other women as to capacity for sexual response	3
6. She knows that she has more sex desire than other women	1
7. She wonders if she is unlike other women because she is passionate	1
8. As a child she thought that her having sex desire meant that she was a "bad woman"	1
9. "No" to the question as a whole	66
Total	100

Table 341

Card 29: Question 2: ***"If so (if there has been fear lest sex parts be not normally constructed), is it, or has it ever been, a source of humiliation to you?"***

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
1. Yes	5	12
2. Yes, qualified	4	2
3. Yes, formerly	5	3
4. No, qualified	4	0
5. No	26	19
6. Subject considers the question inapplicable to his or her case	56	64
Total	100	100

Table 342

Card 29: Question 3: (*For Men*) *"Do you fear, or have you ever feared, that you might seem defective in the eyes of men in any of the following ways?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
(a) Effeminate?		
1. Yes	26	
2. Yes, formerly	9	
3. No	65	
Total	100	
(b) Under-sized?		
1. Yes	17	
2. Yes, formerly	4	
3. No	78	
4. Inconclusive answers	1	
Total	100	
(c) Lacking courage?		
1. Yes	48	
2. Yes, formerly	3	
3. No	46	
4. Inconclusive answers	3	
Total	100	
(d) Lacking in forcefulness?		
1. Yes	54	
2. Yes, formerly	3	
3. No	42	
4. Inconclusive answers	1	
Total	100	
(e) Physically unattractive?		
1. Yes	22	
2. Yes, formerly	5	
3. No	72	
4. Inconclusive answers	1	
Total	100	

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
(f) Stupid?		
1. Yes	28	
2. Yes, formerly	1	
3. No	71	
Total	100	
(g) Tiresome?		
1. Yes	35	
2. No	65	
Total	100	
(h) An "easy mark"?		
1. Yes	29	
2. No	69	
3. Inconclusive answers	2	
Total	100	
(i) Socially awkward?		
1. Yes	46	
2. Yes, formerly	8	
3. No	44	
4. Inconclusive answers	2	
Total	100	

Table 343

Card 29: Question 4: (*For Men*) *"Please answer (the above questions) with reference to any fears that you may have or have had that women might find such defects in you:"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
(a) Effeminate?		
1. Yes	14	
2. Yes, formerly	3	
3. No	83	
Total	100	

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
(b) Under-sized?		
1. Yes	18	
2. Yes, formerly	4	
3. No	77	
4. Inconclusive answers	1	
Total	100	
(c) Lacking in courage?		
1. Yes	29	
2. Yes, formerly	4	
3. No	66	
4. Inconclusive answers	1	
Total	100	
(d) Lacking in forcefulness?		
1. Yes	35	
2. No	64	
3. Inconclusive answers	1	
Total	100	
(e) Physically unattractive?		
1. Yes	32	
2. Yes, formerly	7	
3. No	60	
4. Inconclusive answers	1	
Total	100	
(f) Stupid?		
1. Yes	33	
2. No	67	
Total	100	
(g) Tiresome?		
1. Yes	47	
2. Yes, formerly	1	
3. No	52	
Total	100	

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
(h) An "easy mark"?		
1. Yes	20	
2. No	79	
3. Inconclusive answers	1	
Total	100	
(i) Socially awkward?		
1. Yes	53	
2. Yes, formerly	7	
3. No	40	
Total	100	

Table 344

Card 29: Question 3: (*For Women*) *"Do you fear, or have you ever feared, that you might seem unattractive or defective in the eyes of men in any of the following ways?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
(a) Masculine?		
1. Yes		5
2. Yes, formerly		4
3. No		91
Total		100
(b) Too big?		
1. Yes		18
2. Yes, formerly		6
3. No		76
Total		100
(c) Too little?		
1. Yes		6
2. Yes, formerly		1
3. No		93
Total		100

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
(d) Lacking in social grace?		
1. Yes		38
2. Yes, formerly		5
3. No		57
Total		100
(e) Lacking in forcefulness?		
1. Yes		20
2. Yes, formerly		1
3. No		79
Total		100
(f) Lacking in charm?		
1. Yes		53
2. Yes, formerly		4
3. No		42
4. Inconclusive answers		1
Total		100
(g) Physically unattractive?		
1. Yes		37
2. Yes, formerly		7
3. No		55
4. Inconclusive answers		1
Total		100
(h) Stupid?		
1. Yes		31
2. Yes, formerly		1
3. No		66
4. Inconclusive answers		2
Total		100
(i) Tiresome?		
1. Yes		37
2. Yes, formerly		2
3. No		57
4. Inconclusive answers		4
Total		100

Table 345

Card 29: Question 4: *(For Women) "Please answer this question with reference to any fears that you may have or have had that women might find such defects in you:"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
(a) Masculine?		
1. Yes		4
2. Yes, formerly		1
3. No		93
4. Inconclusive answers		2
Total		100
(b) Too big?		
1. Yes		10
2. Yes, formerly		1
3. No		87
4. Inconclusive answers		2
Total		100
(c) Too little?		
1. Yes		5
2. No		93
3. Inconclusive answers		2
Total		100
(d) Lacking in social grace?		
1. Yes		45
2. Yes, formerly		3
3. No		49
4. Inconclusive answers		3
Total		100
(e) Lacking in forcefulness?		
1. Yes		21
2. Yes, formerly		1
3. No		75
4. Inconclusive answers		3
Total		100

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
(f) Lacking in charm?		
1. Yes		37
2. Yes, formerly		2
3. No		56
4. Inconclusive answers		5
Total		100
(g) Physically unattractive?		
1. Yes		23
2. Yes, formerly		1
3. No		71
4. Inconclusive answers		5
Total		100
(h) Stupid?		
1. Yes		32
2. No		65
3. Inconclusive answers		3
Total		100
(i) Tiresome?		
1. Yes		28
2. No		69
3. Inconclusive answers		3
Total		100

Table 346

Card 29: Question 5: *"If you lack self-confidence to a serious degree, please give details."*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
Direction in Which Self-confidence Is Lacking—		
1. There is a general lack of self-confidence	19	18
2. In social capacity	34	35
3. In education; in general culture	4	6
4. In mental capacity	9	9

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
5. In vocational capacity; in ability to succeed, etc.	31	22
6. In capacity for adequate adjustment to spouse; to children; to family situation as a whole, etc.	4	8
7. In ability to express self adequately	4	2
8. In nervous stability	4	1
9. In physical appearance	6	12
10. In ability to compete for the favors of the opposite sex	1	6
11. In sexual capacity; in ability to perform sexually	4	3
12. In relation to elder sister	0	1
13. Present lack of self-confidence is much less marked or serious than it was formerly	17	2
14. Lacks self-confidence, but not to a serious degree	7	1
15. Inconclusive answers	2	1
16. "No" to the question as a whole (does not lack self-confidence)	17	28
Total	163	155

Table 347

Card 29: Question 6: *"Do you believe that you are more or less potent sexually than most (persons) of your age?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. More potent	13	18
2. Normal; average	53	38
3. Less potent	20	27
4. Inconclusive answers	14	17
Total	100	100

Table 348

Card 29: Question 7: *"Do you believe that your natural sex desire is above, below, or about equal to that of the average (person)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Above	24	29
2. Average; normal	53	41
3. Below	18	20
4. Inconclusive answers	5	10
Total	100	100

Table 349

Card 29: Question 8: *"Do you believe that (your spouse) is over-sexed, under-sexed, or about normal as to sex desire and capacity?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Over-sexed	16	16
2. Normal	56	54
3. Under-sexed	24	22
4. Inconclusive answers	4	8
Total	100	100

Table 350

Card 29: Question 9: *"Have you ever feared, or do you now fear, that persons who observe you closely might suspect that you masturbate, or that in the past you may have indulged in this habit?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Yes	12	4
2. Yes, formerly feared it	35	8
3. No	53	88
Total	100	100

Table 351

Card 29: Question 10: *"Would you like to be free from all sex desire?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Yes	3	7
2. Yes, qualified	5	4
3. No	79	85
4. No, qualified	13	3
5. Inconclusive answers	0	1
Total	100	100

Table 352

Card 29: Question 11: *"If (you would like to be free from all sex desire), why?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Feels nervous and run-down; attributes it to sex	0	1
2. The emotional upsets of sexual frustration leave her unhappy	0	1
3. From a desire to escape suffering	0	1
4. Sex desire unsettles one	0	2
5. She is unable to get satisfaction when she copulates	0	1
6. Wishes she were free of sex desire when her husband doesn't have desire	0	1
7. Life would be less complicated if there were no sex desire	3	2
8. Sex interferes with other interests and activities	3	2
9. Sex makes trouble because he can't satisfy his desire	2	0
10. Because he can't convert his love-dreams into realities	1	0
11. He wishes his wife to be happy, and sex is distasteful to her	1	0
12. Because he can't satisfy his wife sexually	2	0
13. He would be less nervous if he had no sex desire	2	0

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
14. Sex does not appeal to her	0	1
15. The attitude of the world toward sex is low-minded	0	1
16. Subject considers the question inapplicable to his or her case	86	87
Total	100	100

Table 353

Card 29: Question 12: *"Do you believe that (one's) general strength and capacity for work is greater when (one) is having sex intercourse regularly and temperately, or when (one) is not indulging (his or her) sex desire at all?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. It depends on the individual	2	4
2. It makes no difference either way	8	6
3. One does better without sex intercourse	3	6
4. One does better when having regular sex intercourse	78	74
5. Inconclusive answers	9	10
Total	100	100

II

One of the important problems of psychobiology relates to the question as to what extent the non-sexual subjective inferiorities of men and women are resultants of real or imagined inferiorities of sex structure and function. With this in mind an effort was made to establish a self-confidence grade for each of the 200 spouses which could be used for purposes of correlation with answers to questions concerning the presence or absence of sexual inferiorities. Reference to the foregoing tables of the present chapter will show that only the answers listed in *Tables 342, 343, 344,* and *345* are wholly free of references to sex structure

or function; hence they alone can be used in establishing non-sexual self-confidence grades. In these tables are listed the answers to 18 different questions concerning possible inferiorities as to various mental and physical qualities. A "No," or denial of a given inferiority, was credited as 1 point for the person giving it in my self-confidence grading. It follows that, since 18 "No's" would be given by a person who had never felt inferior in any of the 18 directions alluded to, the maximum self-confidence grade would be 18. If only 10 "No's" were given, the grade would be 10, etc.

III

1. The 100 men gave a total of 1,144 "No's" to the questions just referred to, and the women a total of 1,274. The average individual grade for the men is, therefore, 11.44 and for the women 12.74. It is of some interest to note that the question which elicited the smallest number of "No's" from the men was, "Do you fear, or have you ever feared, that you might seem unattractive or defective in the eyes of *women* in: . . . (*i*) Socially awkward?" Only 40 men could answer "No" to this question. The women scored their smallest number of "No's" (a total of 42) in answering the question as to whether they had ever feared that they lacked charm in the eyes of *men.*

2. The 9 men who have a present and definite fear that their sex organs may seem too small to persons who see them exposed have an average self-confidence grade of only 7.11. The 59 men who have never had such a fear have an average grade of 11.95. One of the most interesting of the descriptive correlations thus far brought out by the analyses of the material relates to the 15 men who stated that they once feared that their sex organs might seem too small, but that this fear is no longer present: they have an average self-confidence grade of 13.33. This is somewhat suggestive of Adler's belief, viz., that the individual tends

to compensate for organic inferiorities by doing that which will further ego-maximation in other directions.

A corresponding question to the women ("Do you fear, or have you ever feared, that the sex part of you might be unlike that of other women?") elicited answers which are already given in *Table 340*. When the women are grouped according to their answers to this question, no suggestive differences in self-confidence grades appear: the 7 who have a present and definite fear that their sex parts may be unlike those of other women have an average grade of 12.76, as against an average of 12.74 for all 100 women. The average for each of the other groups is likewise very close to that for all 100 women.

There are several grounds for suspecting that the suggestion contained in the above findings may have a foundation in an important psychobiological principle: it may be that a woman is much less likely to develop a serious sense of general inferiority in reaction to a belief that she is inferior as to sexual structure or function than is a man. For one thing, the visible, external parts of the male are much more obtrusive than those of the female. Again, a man cannot copulate without a fairly adequate erection, but almost any woman, even though she be a very frigid one, is capable of this act. During a given session the man can copulate only as many times as his capacity for renewed erections will permit, but the woman can receive his sex organ for as many acts as she may desire. Precocity of orgasms on the man's part may render it impossible for him to continue the act until she is satisfied. The woman, on the other hand, can continue to play her part until the male is satisfied, regardless of the progress of her own excitement. Even a woman who is incapable of having the orgasm under any conditions is not likely to feel inferior on that account unless her attention is called to the fact that such an incapacity is abnormal. In fact, my studies have shown that among women who are incapable of the

orgasm are to be found many who impress their husbands or lovers as especially passionate, vigorous, and, in general, desirable fellow-copulants. A final point is contained in the fact that during the periods of life when the personality is especially apt to develop its dominant tendencies—i.e., during infancy, childhood, and adolescence—the size of the little boy's penis is a matter for comparison and discussion with his contemporaries. No corresponding factor enters into the lives of little girls unless, of course, we take into account their frequently observed chagrin that they have no penis at all. But the female lack of a penis is not one which leads to comparisons of girl with girl. If it is conducive to subjective inferiorities of any consequence or frequency at all among girls, it must lead the individual girl to feel very early that it is her sex as a whole rather than herself in relation to other girls that is lacking.

3. The 54 women who were previously grouped together as having a relatively adequate orgasm capacity have an average self-confidence grade of 12.76. The 46 women who have a totally lacking or a definitely inferior orgasm capacity have a corresponding grade of 12.52. This difference is so small, of course, as to be practically negligible.

4. The 5th question on *Card 29* was, "If you lack self-confidence to a serious degree in any direction, please give details." It was thought possible that among the men particular types of subjective inferiority might appear to be especially common among those who believe that they have abnormally small sex organs, but the appropriate correlations disclosed nothing of interest. A study of a thousand or more cases might give us an important lead here.

5. The 6th question asked both the men and the women to give an estimate of their own potency. The correlations of these findings with the self-confidence grades, as given below, are suggestive facts of description:

Table 354

Relation of the Men's Estimates of Their Own Sexual Potency to Their Self-confidence Grades.

The Men's Estimates of Their Own Sexual Potency	*The Men's Self-confidence Grades*
1. More potent than the average man (13 cases)	11.15
2. Of average potency (53 cases)	11.62
3. Less potent than the average man (20 cases)	9.60
4. Inconclusive answers (14 cases)	13.36

Relation of the Women's Estimates of Their Own Sexual Potency to Their Self-confidence Grades.

The Women's Estimates of Their Own Sexual Potency	*The Women's Self-confidence Grades*
1. More potent than the average woman (18 cases)	12.06
2. Of average potency (38 cases)	12.61
3. Less potent than the average woman (27 cases)	13.30
4. Inconclusive answers (17 cases)	12.76

6.

Table 355

Relation of the Women's Estimates of Their Own Sexual Potency to Their Present Orgasm Capacity.

The Women's Own Estimates of Sexual Potency	*Present Orgasm Capacity*	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
1. More potent than the average woman (18 cases)	11 (61.11%)	7 (38.89%)
2. Of average potency (38 cases)	23 (60.53%)	15 (39.47%)
3. Less potent than the average woman (27 cases)	11 (40.74%)	16 (59.26%)
4. Inconclusive answers (17 cases)	9 (52.94%)	8 (47.06%)
Total (100 cases)	54	46

7. There is, of course, an important difference between sex capacity and strength of sex desire. We have already seen that in women an inferior orgasm capacity may be associated with unusual strength of sex desire, and it is also known that there are men whose desire is greater than their ability to obtain adequate or adequately frequent erections. For these reasons both men and women were asked to give estimates as to whether they are above, below, or

about equal to others of their sex with respect to sex desire. Since relative degree of sex desire might bear a suggestive relationship to degree of satisfaction with the marriage as a whole, the correlations presented in the next table were calculated:

Table 356

Relation of the Men's Estimates of the Strength of Their Own Sex Desire to the Degree of Their Satisfaction with Their Marriages as a Whole.

The Men's Own Estimate of the Strength of Their Sex Desire	*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*		
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
1. Desire is above the average (24 cases) . . .	10 (41.67%)	4 (16.67%)	10 (41.67%)
2. Desire is equal to the average (53 cases) . . .	29 (54.72%)	7 (13.21%)	17 (32.08%)
3. Desire is below the average (18 cases) . . .	10 (55.56%)	1 (5.56%)	7 (38.89%)
4. Inconclusive (5 cases) . . .	2 (40.00%)	1 (20.00%)	2 (40.00%)
Total (100 cases) . .	51	13	36

Relation of the Women's Estimates of the Strength of Their Own Sex Desire to the Degree of Their Satisfaction with Their Marriages as a Whole.

The Women's Own Estimate of the Strength of Their Sex Desire			
1. Desire is above the average (29 cases) . . .	12 (41.38%)	4 (13.79%)	13 (44.83%)
2. Desire is equal to the average (41 cases) . . .	17 (41.46%)	6 (14.63%)	18 (43.90%)
3. Desire is below the average (20			

The Women's Own Estimate of the Strength of Their Sex Desire			
cases) . . .	10 (50.00%)	2 (10.00%)	8 (40.00%)
4. Inconclusive (10 cases) . . .	6 (60.00%)	2 (20.00%)	2 (20.00%)
Total (100 cases) . .	45	14	41

It should be noted that in the above table both the men and the women who regard themselves as below the average in the matter of sex desire present a higher percentage of cases whose marriages are fairly to highly satisfactory than do those who rate themselves as above or equal to the average in sex desire.

8. The findings in the next table are significant, in the sense that they show how high a percentage of women who are inferior as to orgasm capacity belong to the group who rate themselves above the average in sex desire.

Table 357

Relation of the Women's Estimates of the Strength of Their Own Sex Desire to Their Present Orgasm Capacity.

The Women's Own Estimates of the Strength of Their Sex Desire	*Present Orgasm Capacity* Adequate	Inadequate
1. Desire is above the average (29 cases)	13 (44.83%)	16 (55.17%)
2. Desire is equal to the average (41 cases)	29 (70.73%)	12 (29.27%)
3. Desire is below the average (20 cases)	7 (35.00%)	13 (65.00%)
4. Inconclusive (10 cases) . .	5 (50.00%)	5 (50.00%)
Total (100 cases) . .	54	46

9. Each person was asked to state whether his or her spouse was "over-sexed, under-sexed, or about normal as to sex desire and capacity." The correlations of these findings with the grades as to satisfaction with the marriage as a whole and, in the case of the women, with present orgasm capacity, will repay examination by any person

who has more than a passing or purely erotic interest in the problems of sex in the marital relation.

Table 358

Relation of the Subjects' Estimates of the Sexuality of Their Spouses to Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole.

	Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage		
Men	*Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)*	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
The Subjects' Ratings of Their Spouses' Sexuality			
1. Spouse is oversexed (16 cases)	6 (37.50%)	3 (18.75%)	7 (43.75%)
2. Spouse is of average sexuality (56 cases) . .	30 (53.57%)	8 (14.29%)	18 (32.14%)
3. Spouse is undersexed (24 cases)	12 (50.00%)	2 (8.33%)	10 (41.67%)
4. Inconclusive answers (4 cases) .	3 (75.00%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (25.00%)
Total (100 cases) . .	51	13	36
Women			
The Subjects' Ratings of Their Spouses' Sexuality			
1. Spouse is oversexed (16 cases)	5 (31.25%)	0 (0.00%)	11 (68.75%)
2. Spouse is of average sexuality (54 cases) . .	31 (57.41%)	9 (16.67%)	14 (25.93%)
3. Spouse is undersexed (22 cases)	4 (18.18%)	5 (22.73%)	13 (59.09%)
4. Inconclusive answers (8 cases) .	5 (62.50%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (37.50%)
Total (100 cases) . .	45	14	41

10. As might have been expected, the women who state that their husbands are under-sexed present the highest percentage of cases with lacking or inferior orgasm capac-

ity of any of the three groups whose answers were classifiable:

Table 359

Relation of the Women's Estimates of Their Husbands' Sexuality to Their (the Women's) Present Orgasm Capacity.

Women's Ratings of Their Husbands' Sexuality	*Present Orgasm Capacity*	
	Adequate	*Inadequate*
1. Husband is over-sexed (16 cases)	10 (62.50%)	6 (37.50%)
2. Husband is of average sexuality (54 cases)	31 (57.41%)	23 (42.59%)
3. Husband is under-sexed (22 cases)	8 (36.36%)	14 (63.64%)
4. Inconclusive answers (8 cases)	5 (62.50%)	3 (37.50%)
Total (100 cases)	54	46

11. A final point to be considered in this study of subjective inferiorities is the relation of self-confidence grade to degree of satisfaction with the marriage. Inferiorities of which one is aware and admits are probably much less conducive to a tendency to be dissatisfied with others than are unrecognized or unadmitted inferiorities; but the point in question is at least worth testing in light of such data as we have:

Table 360

Relation of Degree of Self-confidence to Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole.

Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole	*Self-confidence Grade*	
	Men	*Women*
1. Fair to high degree of satisfaction with the marriage (51 men and 45 women are in this group)	11.92	13.73
2. Considerable dissatisfaction with the marriage (13 men and 14 women are in this group)	9.77	12.14
3. High degree of dissatisfaction with the marriage (36 men and 41 women are in this group)	11.25	11.85

CHAPTER XVII

Masturbation

I

We physicians have never been able to rid ourselves of a very bad habit: we make too much of our guesses by advancing them as scientific pronouncements. Not so long ago our predecessors were so sure that masturbation can destroy the body as well as the mind that they even listed locomotor ataxia (syphilis of the spinal cord) as one of its possible consequences. In recent years a new guess in the matter has led some physicians to prescribe masturbation for persons who find it inexpedient or impossible to have ordinary sex intercourse. Freud takes, in the main, a middle ground between two extremes of opinion, but he states that masturbation is the essential cause of "neurasthenia." In so doing he ignores the possibility that a history of intemperate masturbation may be no more suggestively frequent in the lives of neurasthenics than is a history of serious and persistent frustration of non-sexual strivings. His argument is as follows: (1) In ordinary sex intercourse there is usually an adequate attending degree of externally derived stimulation; (2) the masturbator lacks such stimulation in adequate degree while he is indulging himself, hence he falls back upon erotic fantasies as a substitute; (3) this fantasy construction involves an undue expenditure of psychical energy, and (4) the consequence is a type of debility which is designated "neurasthenia." It would be useless to object that many persons who are neurasthenic claim to masturbate without having attending erotic fantasies, since Freud would retort that they have unconscious fantasies instead. His concept of The Unconscious

permits him to postulate any type of psychodynamic process which his argument of the moment may require.

Of course Freud is merely honoring a hoary medical precedent, which permits us to fall back upon the dicta of clinical impressionism and to piece out with speculation when we lack opportunity or inclination to engage in the slow, laborious, and unimpressive job of hunting for what is really so. The only extensive scientific study of masturbation of which I can find any record is the one in which Katharine Bement Davis * has been engaged for a number of years. Although she has proceeded from the standpoint of social hygiene, what she has already published has implications of fundamental importance to psychobiology, which is concerned with the development of methods and the collection of material for the furtherance of etiological explanations. Her studies of over 2,000 women disclose the possibility that considerably more than half of American women masturbate at some time after infancy, and they have done a good deal toward bringing to an issue a point which ought to be stressed here: *it is unsafe to generalize about the genesis and desirable or undesirable consequences of a habit which is so common that by a familiar method of reasoning even fallen arches might be ascribed to it.*

For the social hygienist the initial problem is, "How many and what kinds of people masturbate?", but for the psychobiologist it is, "Why do people masturbate, and what, if any, harm does it do to them?" A really adequate answer to the psychobiologist's question will require detailed examinations of thousands of persons by a method which will yield not only a sufficient quantity of comparable data for purposes of statistical interpretation, but a sufficient variety of facts about all cases to do justice to the

* Davis, Katharine Bement, "A Study of Certain Auto-Erotic Practices," Mental Hygiene, Vol. 8, No. 3, July 1924, pp. 668–723; Vol. 9, No. 1, Jan. 1925, pp. 28–59.

many explanatory formulations that have been derived from psychiatric clinical studies.

The present chapter lists the answers of the 200 persons of my study to 20 different questions concerning masturbation, and the last few pages of it present some descriptive correlations in which data from other questions appear. My material on masturbation is much less useful than it might have been had I realized in advance the extent to which the persons of my research would be confused as to the meaning of the terms involved. In New York most educated persons seem to have at least a smattering of psychoanalytic theory, and to have been infected with what I regard as one of Freud's worst habits: a tendency to extend the connotation of almost any word in the vocabulary of sex to suit the argument of the moment until it means nothing in particular. By masturbation I mean conscious and deliberate self-stimulation of the genitals for the purpose of obtaining thereby sexual gratification of some sort or other. I do not classify as masturbation such practices as biting the nails, chewing gum, reading the Bible for its erotic interest, indulging in sex fantasies, pressing one's genitals against the body of another person in love-making, driving automobiles at a furious speed, or making high dives.* It will be noticed that in various tables of this chapter the total number of persons who are listed as having made a particular admission, such as post-marital masturbation or indulgence in sex daydreams as adjuvants to this practise, does not remain constant. This is in part due, apparently, to the fluctuations in ability to recall unpleasant or supposedly shameful experiences to which allusion was made in an earlier chapter; but the currently expressed uncertainties of the persons under examination—i.e., their doubts as to whether a psychiatrist would regard such and such practises as masturbation—

* Neither does Freud, but not infrequently even well-known American psychoanalysts assure their bewildered patients that such practises are masturbation. In so doing they are only going their master one better.

undoubtedly account for a good many individual inconsistencies of answer. The relatively large number of answers which I had to group in the unclassified "inconclusive" list likewise reflects this uncertainty, although, of course, an inconclusive answer often seems to be an unwitting evasion.

II

Table 361

Card 31: Question 1: *"How old were you when you first found pleasure in handling your sex organs, or in causing them to be rubbed or pressed by other means than using your hands on them?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Less than 6; as far back as can be remembered	20	14
2. From 6 to 11 years of age	44	30
3. From 12 to 15 years of age	23	8
4. From 16 to 20 years of age	4	8
5. From 21 to 25 years of age	3	5
6. After 25 years of age	1	6
7. "After marriage"	1	0
8. "I never masturbated"	1	25
9. Inconclusive answers	3	4
Total	100	100

Table 362

Card 31: Question 2: *"How did you find that pleasure could be had by causing your sex organs to be rubbed or pressed or handled: (a) Were you told about it by some other person (if so, by whom)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "Yes"—answer not amplified	7	4
2. Yes, by contemporaries of own sex	19	11
3. Yes, by older children of own sex	9	1
4. Yes, by a man during subject's childhood	1	0

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
5. Was told about it by a physician who advised masturbation	0	1
6. Read about it	1	2
7. Deliberately tried masturbation for first time in mature years	0	2
8. Was not told about it	46	48
9. Never masturbated	2	26
10. Inconclusive answers	15	5
Total	100	100

(*b*) *"Did you imitate some other person whom you saw doing that sort of thing?"*

1. Yes	22	4
2. No	60	65
3. Never masturbated	2	26
4. Inconclusive answers	16	5
Total	100	100

(*c*) *"Did some other person suggest that you do it?"*

1. Yes	28	15
2. It was suggested by reading	0	2
3. No	55	52
4. Never masturbated	2	26
5. Inconclusive answers	15	5
Total	100	100

(*d*) *"Did some other person handle your sex organ, and thus show you how to give yourself pleasure?"*

1. Yes	15	12
2. No	69	56
3. Never masturbated	2	26
4. Inconclusive answers	14	6
Total	100	100

(e) *"Did you make the discovery of this kind of pleasure accidentally, when nobody was near? If so, how?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. "Yes"—answer not amplified	10	9
2. Discovered masturbation pleasure while in bed	10	8
3. Discovered it while taking a bath	9	2
4. Discovered it while voiding bowel or bladder	3	0
5. Discovered it climbing pole in gymnasium	4	1
6. Discovered it riding a bicycle, a horse or "teeter"; climbing a tree; sitting astride other objects	4	5
7. Discovered it by rubbing thighs together	0	4
8. Discovered it while taking a douche	0	2
9. Discovered it by having genitals accidentally touched by a toy	0	1
10. Discovered it by pressing genitals against lover	9	1
11. Discovery came as result of more or less deliberate experimenting.	7	5
12. The discovery was not accidental	27	20
13. Never masturbated	3*	26*
14. Inconclusive answers	14	16
Total	100	100

Table 363

Card 31: Question 3: *"How old were you when you first brought about an orgasm ("going off") by handling or otherwise pressing or rubbing your sex organ?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Less than 6 years of age	2	3
2. From 6 to 11 years of age	19	10
3. "Before puberty".	2	1
4. From 12 to 15 years of age	48	6

* From this point on our records show that the same 3 men and 26 women consistently deny that they have ever masturbated, and that 97 men and 74 women have indulged in this practise at some time or other in their lives.

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
5. From 16 to 20 years of age	9	9
6. From 21 to 25 years of age	4	6
7. After 25 years of age	4	5
8. "After marriage"	2	5
9. Has masturbated, but has never produced an orgasm thereby	3	23
10. Never masturbated	3	26
11. Inconclusive answers	4	6
Total	100	100

Table 364

Card 31: Question 4: *"How frequently did you masturbate from the time you began it until you first had an orgasm?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Had an orgasm the first masturbation	32	17
2. Almost as soon as habit was begun	2	2
3. After 2 or 3 masturbations	1	1
4. After 3 or 4 masturbations	0	1
5. Soon after habit was established	5	2
6. Had masturbated infrequently over a considerable period	14	5
7. Had masturbated frequently over a considerable period	26	5
8. Had masturbated with varying frequency over a considerable period	4	3
9. Has masturbated but never produced an orgasm thereby.	3	23
10. Never masturbated	3	26
11. Inconclusive answers	10	15
Total	100	100

Table 365

Card 31: Question 5: *"How frequently did you produce orgasms by masturbation after you began to have orgasms?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Daily or more frequently in periods	20	4
2. Less than daily but more than 3 times weekly	1	3
3. 1 to 3 times weekly	25	3
4. "Very frequently"	4	1
5. "Frequently"	3	5
6. "Regularly"	1	0
7. 1 to 3 times monthly	22	5
8. With variable frequency	2	3
9. Less often than monthly; infrequently	15	20
10. Masturbated but never produced an orgasm	3	23
11. Never masturbated	3	26
12. Inconclusive answers	1	7
Total	100	100

Table 366

Card 31: Question 6: *"When, if ever, did you begin to indulge in daydreams as a part of the pleasure in masturbation?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. From the beginning; almost from the beginning	29	8
2. "When very young"	0	1
3. "When I first knew about sex matters"	0	1
4. Before puberty	6	2
5. At puberty	4	3
6. Early adolescence	10	2
7. With the first love affair	0	1
8. During engagement	0	1
9. From 16 to 20 years of age	12	1
10. After 20	5	3
11. After marriage	1	4
12. Never indulged in such daydreams	19	36
13. Never masturbated	3	26
14. Inconclusive answers	11	11
Total	100	100

Table 367

Card 31: Question 7: *"Were daydreams of yourself in a sexual situation with another person always an essential part of your pleasure in masturbation?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Yes	23	8
2. Usually; after a certain period; other qualified affirmatives	12	5
3. No	62	58
4. Never masturbated	3	26
5. Inconclusive answers	0	3
Total	100	100

Table 368

Card 31: Question 8: *"When you had sex daydreams (imagining yourself having some sort of sexual pleasure with another person), did you in the beginning prefer to imagine that the other person was a boy, a girl, a man, or a woman?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. A person of opposite sex and near own age	57	25
2. A person of opposite sex and much older than self	20	1
3. Persons of both sexes	5	4
4. Only persons of own sex	0	1
5. Had peeping fantasies	0	1
6. Had exhibitionistic fantasies	1	0
7. Had fantasies of self in heroic roles	0	1
8. Had masochistic fantasies	1	1
9. Didn't have such daydreams	10	30
10. Never masturbated	3	26
11. Inconclusive answers	3	10
Total	100	100

Table 369

Card 31: Question 9: *"Did you masturbate in company with other (persons) who were masturbating at the same time?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Has masturbated with persons of own sex	28	13
2. Has masturbated with persons of both sexes	1	0
3. Never masturbated in company with any other person	71	87
Total	100	100

Table 370

Card 31: Question 10: *"If at any time in your life any person has ever masturbated you, please give dates, circumstances, and description of such persons."* *

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Before 12: person of own sex	19	7
2. From 12 to 15: person of own sex	17	4
3. From 12 to 15: person of opposite sex	0	2
4. From 16 to 20: person of own sex	1	6
5. From 16 to 20: person of opposite sex	0	1
6. After 20: person of own sex	2	9
7. After 20: person of opposite sex	20	23
8. Was never masturbated by another person	41	48
Total	100	100

* Strictly speaking, no kind of sexual stimulation of one person by another can be classified as masturbation. The word was used here in this connection in order to avoid possible misunderstandings.

Table 371

Card 31: Question 11: *"Were you likely to masturbate more or less frequently while in love with (a person) with whom you did no 'spooning'?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Less frequently	22	1
2. More frequently	15	8
3. Being in love and not spooning had no effect on masturbation	38	43
4. Was not masturbating at that period of life	8	11
5. Always spooned from beginning of an affair	2	1
6. Never completely and typically masturbated at any time	1	0
7. Never masturbated at any time	3	26
8. Inconclusive answers	11	10
Total	100	100

Table 372

Card 31: Question 12: *"Were you likely to masturbate more or less frequently while in love with (a person) with whom you did 'spooning'?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Less frequently	17	5
2. More frequently	34	13
3. Being in love and spooning had no effect on masturbation	26	37
4. Was not masturbating at that period of life	5	10
5. Didn't spoon	6	3
6. Never completely and typically masturbated at any time	1	0
7. Never masturbated at any time	3	26
8. Inconclusive answers	8	6
Total	100	100

Table 373

Card 32: Question 1: *"During the engagement that led to your marriage (the first one, if you have been married twice), did you increase, decrease, or stop masturbation?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Stopped masturbation	6	8
2. Copulated instead	5	1
3. Decreased masturbation	30	5
4. Increased masturbation	15	8
5. Being engaged had no effect on masturbation	13	5
6. First increased, then decreased masturbation	1	1
7. First masturbation was during engagement	0	7
8. Was not masturbating at that period of life	20	33
9. Never completely and typically masturbated at any time	1	0
10. Never masturbated at any time	3	26
11. Inconclusive answers	6	6
Total	100	100

Table 374

Card 32: Question 2: *"Please answer this question (Question 1) for your second marriage also, if married twice."*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Stopped masturbation	1	0
2. Copulated instead	2	0
3. Engagement leading to second marriage had no effect	1	1
4. Decreased masturbation	1	0
5. Was not masturbating at that period of life	1	2
6. Inconclusive answers	1	0
7. Has had no second marriage	93	97
Total	100	100

Table 375

Card 32: Question 3: *"During the first year of your marriage did you masturbate at all?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Yes	42	26
2. Uncertain about it	9	11
3. No	45	37
4. Never masturbated at any time	3	26
5. Never typically masturbated at any time	1	0
Total	100	100

Table 376

Card 32: Question 4: *"After marriage did you ever fall back upon this kind of sexual satisfaction (masturbation) for any of the following reasons: Absence of spouse? Illness of spouse? Spouse's unwillingness to have sex intercourse with you? A disagreement with spouse? A feeling of aversion on your part to sex intercourse with spouse? A longing for another person whom you preferred to your spouse? Because you did not sleep in the same bed with your spouse? Because you occupied separate rooms? For any other reason?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Absence of spouse	49	31
2. It was just a case of an old habit continuing after marriage	4	2
3. Preferred masturbation to copulation	1	1
4. "Masturbation seemed necessary" (sic)	0	2
5. "It was a matter of circumstances"	2	0
6. Aversion to copulation with spouse	6	7
7. Spouse's unwillingness or lack of desire	12	11
8. Dissatisfaction with spouse in a general way	2	0
9. Disappointment with spouse	8	1
10. Unwillingness to ask spouse for copulation	0	1
11. The wife's pregnancy	1	1
12. Fear of pregnancy	1	1
13. Spouse's lack of enjoyment of the sex act	2	0

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
14. Was likely to masturbate when wife was menstruating	3	0
15. Spouse's temporary inability to copulate	1	1
16. Illness of one or the other	14	4
17. When wife was too tired to copulate	1	0
18. Masturbated because copulation was painful to wife	2	0
19. Husband had gonorrhoea	0	1
20. When sexually excited by own creative work	1	0
21. When stimulated by daydreaming	1	1
22. Longing for another person	15	6
23. Stimulated by reading	0	1
24. Sexually excited by taking hot douche	0	1
25. Being alone and in need of stimulation	1	0
26. Masturbated to relieve nervous tension	3	0
27. Masturbated to relieve insomnia	0	1
28. Masturbated because of inability to get satisfaction otherwise	6	22
29. Masturbated because of own feeling of sexual inadequacy	1	0
30. Masturbated because wife's demands for sex intercourse exceeded his capacity	1	0
31. Masturbated as a preparation for copulation	0	1
32. Masturbated when drunk	2	0
33. Masturbated because doctor ordered it	0	1
34. Masturbated out of curiosity	1	1
35. Because they were not copulating during that period	1	0
36. Because they occupied separate beds	7	3
37. Because they occupied the same bed	1	1
38. Because they occupied separate rooms	3	2
39. Has not typically masturbated since marriage	1	0
40. Has not masturbated since marriage	33	44
Total	187	149

Table 377

Card 32: Question 5: *"How frequently, if at all, have you masturbated since the first year of your marriage?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Infrequently; less than once a month	43	31
2. Not more than 2 or 3 times a month; with moderate frequency; irregularly	14	13

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
3. Weekly or more frequently; with considerable frequency	16	11
4. None after the first year of marriage	3	1
5. No typical masturbation since marriage	1	1
6. Has not masturbated since marriage	17	42
7. Inconclusive answers	6	1
Total	100	100

Table 378

Card 32: Question 6: *"When did you last masturbate?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Since marriage: within a week	16	17
2. Since marriage: within a year	50	26
3. Since marriage: more than 1 but not less than 5 years ago	10	4
4. Since marriage: 5 or more years ago	2	3
5. Since marriage: how long ago not specified	1	8
6. Before marriage: after puberty	14	9
7. Before marriage: before puberty	1	3
8. Never masturbated at any time	3	26
9. Inconclusive answers	3	4
Total	100	100

Table 379

Card 32: Question 7: *"Do you believe that masturbation has ever injured you, either mentally or physically? Please give whatever opinions you may have on this subject."*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Masturbation has been beneficial	5	4
2. It has not been injurious	22	25
3. It is not injurious but subject is averse to it	2	2
4. It induces guilt reactions	16	9
5. It makes you feel inferior	12	5

6. It reduces sex capacity	7	3
7. It is physically injurious	12	6
8. It is mentally injurious	54	16
9. "It does more harm than good"	1	0
10. Uncertain about it	3	5
11. Never masturbated	3	26
Total	137	100

Table 380

Card 32· Question 8: *"Have you reason to believe that your (spouse) ever masturbated? If so, at what period of (the spouse's) life?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Knows that spouse has masturbated since marriage	15	24
2. Suspects that spouse has masturbated since marriage	2	5
3. Knows that spouse has masturbated: when not specified	6	2
4. Knows that spouse masturbated before marriage	12	21
5. Suspects that spouse masturbated before marriage	2	0
6. Doesn't know whether spouse ever masturbated or not	20	17
7. Spouse denies ever having masturbated	7	3*
8. Knows that spouse has never masturbated at any time	36	28*
Total	100	100

III

1. In the immediately preceding chapter a self-confidence grade was established for each subject, 18 representing the highest grade that could be attained by any subject on this

* It is interesting to note that 3 men had told their wives that they had never masturbated and that the wives of 28 men knew that their husbands had never indulged in this practise. Since the husbands of 55 of the women of my research were also examined, it is requested that each of the 31 women just alluded to will assume that her husband belongs to the 3 percent of men who have never masturbated. Otherwise the contents of the present chapter might lead to unpleasant doubts.

score and zero the lowest. In seeking to trace such relations as might appear between degree of self-confidence and masturbation history, the answers to the question, "How frequently, if at all, have you masturbated since the first year of your marriage?" were used. The degree in which masturbation is practised after marriage is by no means a wholly safe measure of the degree in which the tendency to indulge in this habit has ever been a significant feature of an individual's make-up, but it seems to me to be less unsafe than any other measure that the data at hand suggest. In the tables which follow, the inconclusive answers are listed with those indicating relative infrequency of masturbation only because it so happens that the persons who gave them had stated in other connections that they had not often indulged in the habit.

Table 381

Relation between Frequency of Post-marital Masturbation and Degree of Self-confidence.

Frequency of Post-marital Masturbation	*Degree of Self-confidence*	
	Above Average	*Below Average*
(*Men*)		
1. None after the first year of marriage; no typical masturbation since marriage; no masturbation at all since marriage (21 cases)	13 (61.90%)	8 (38.10%)
2. Infrequently; less than once a month; moderate frequency; irregularly; not more than 2 or 3 times a month; inconclusive answers (63 cases)	33 (52.38%)	30 (47.62%)
3. Weekly or more frequently; considerable frequency (16 cases) .	6 (37.50%)	10 (62.50%)
Total (100 cases) . .	52	48

Frequency of Post-marital Masturbation	*Degree of Self-confidence. Above Average*	*Below Average*
	(Women)	
1. None after the first year of marriage; no typical masturbation since marriage; no masturbation at all since marriage (44 cases)	33 (75.00%)	11 (25.00%)
2. Infrequently; less than once a month; moderate frequency; irregularly; not more than 2 or 3 times a month; inconclusive answers (45 cases)	19 (42.22%)	26 (57.78%)
3. Weekly or more frequently; considerable frequency (11 cases) .	7 (63.64%)	4 (36.36%)
Total (100 cases) . .	59	41

2. In clinical work one frequently observes a marked tendency toward finding and cherishing grievances on the part of persons who are afraid or ashamed of their masturbation. They are open to the suspicion, of course, that they are converting self-dissatisfaction into dissatisfaction with others. The findings in the next table are very suggestive:

Table 382

Relation between Frequency of Post-marital Masturbation and Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole.

Frequency of Post-marital Masturbation	*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)*	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
	(Men)		
1. None after the first year of marriage; no typical masturbation since marriage; no masturbation at all since marriage (21 cases)	13 (61.90%)	2 (9.52%)	6 (28.57%)

Frequency of Post-marital Masturbation	*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*		
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction (Grade A–B)	*Considerable Dissatisfaction (Grade C)*	*High Degree of Dissatisfaction (Grade D–E)*
2. Infrequently; less than once a month; moderate frequency; irregularly; not more than 2 or 3 times a month; inconclusive answers (63 cases) . .	36 (57.14%)	7 (11.11%)	20 (31.75%)
3. Weekly or more frequently; considerable frequency (16 cases)	2 (12.50%)	4 (25.00%)	10 (62.50%)
Total (100 cases) . .	51	13	36

(Women)

1. None after the first year of marriage; no typical masturbation since marriage; no masturbation at all since marriage (44 cases)	23 (52.27%)	9 (20.45%)	12 (27.27%)
2. Infrequently; less than once a month; moderate frequency; irregularly; not more than 2 or 3 times a month; inconclusive answers (45 cases) . .	21 (46.67%)	4 (8.89%)	20 (44.44%)
3. Weekly or more frequently; considerable frequency (11 cases)	1 (9.09%)	1 (9.09%)	9 (81.82%)
Total (100 cases) . . .	45	14	41

3. The next table suggests that there may be some relationship between *orgasm capacity in women and their history as to masturbation.*

Table 383

Frequency of Post-marital Masturbation	*Present Orgasm Capacity* Adequate	Inadequate
1. None after the first year of marriage; no typical masturbation since marriage; no masturbation at all since marriage (44 cases)	25 (56.82%)	19 (43.18%)
2. Infrequently; less than once a month; moderate frequency; irregularly; not more than 2 or 3 times a month; inconclusive answers (45 cases)	26 (57.78%)	19 (42.22%)
3. Weekly or more frequently; considerable frequency (11 cases) .	3 (27.27%)	8 (72.73%)
Total (100 cases) . .	54	46

4. The above table shows that only 3 of the 11 women who have masturbated with considerable frequency since marriage belong to the adequate orgasm capacity group. The total number involved is too small, of course, to justify us in drawing any conclusions from this suggestive finding, but the evidence in the next table is in the same direction:

Table 384

Relation of General History as to Masturbation to Present Orgasm Capacity. (Women.)

General History as to Masturbation	*Present Orgasm Capacity* Adequate	Inadequate
1. Has no memory of ever having masturbated at any time in her life (26 cases)	16 (61.54%)	10 (38.46%)
2. Remembers having masturbated at some time or other in her life (74 cases)	38 (51.35%)	36 (48.65%)
Total (100 cases) . .	54	46

5. The seventh question on *Card 31* was, "Were daydreams of yourself in a sexual situation with another person always an essential part of your pleasure in masturbation?" The 8 women who stated without reservations that such daydreams had always been an essential part of their pleasure in masturbation are all able to have the orgasm with satisfactory frequency. Fifty-eight women said "No," categorically: of these, only 26, or 44.83 percent, have an adequate orgasm capacity. This raises a question as to whether there may not be a fundamental difference between masturbation which is an end in itself and masturbation which largely reflects an effort to give a touch of realism to copulation fantasies. It seems to me that there must be an important psychodynamic difference between (1) a longing for copulation with a satisfactory person which is so insistent that it leads to fantasy construction of the act with an attending self-stimulation of the genitals and (2) mere masturbation for the sake of the pleasurable experience of this act in itself. I would term the former "substitutive" and the latter "autoerotic" masturbation. In substitutive masturbation, on this hypothesis, the individual has been so conditioned that he tends to respond to sexual excitation by longing for the act with a satisfactory person, and when this is impossible he constructs in fantasy what he would like in reality. In autoerotic masturbation he has been so conditioned that sexual excitation merely touches off a tendency to secure some sort of genital stimulation. It might be further assumed that conditioning factors which favor the tendency to substitutive masturbation will also favor—in the case of women—the tendency to have the complete, normal orgasm in the sex act; and that conditioning factors which favor the tendency to autoerotic masturbation operate against the chance of having the normal orgasm. To be able to copulate frankly and openly in one's imagination, and to pretend that the attending self-stimulation of the genitals is a part of the imagined act,

argues an absence of those deeply buried, unwittingly operative inhibitions which we are compelled to postulate to account for the fact that there are women who have complete and satisfying orgasms in sleep who have never been able to achieve this goal in copulation. At any rate, all of the 8 women of our study who could say without reservation that sex daydreaming is always an essential accompaniment of their masturbation have orgasms when they copulate in reality.

CHAPTER XVIII

Forerunners, Components, and Perversions of Human Sexuality

I

Freud * ascribes to the infant tendencies toward oral,† anal, and urethral erotism, sadism, masochism, fetichism, exhibitionism, and sexual peeping. He regards these as pregenital forerunners and ultimate components of adult sexuality. One can never be quite sure as to what, in Freud's own mind, is the relative importance of seduction and innate predisposition as factors in the development of these tendencies. It is clear, however, that he defines three general types of change which such tendencies may undergo, viz., (1) fusion into the total adult sexuality of normal persons, (2) substitute reaction formation, and (3) sublimation into constructive tendencies. If any of these tendencies is an especially marked feature of the infant's reactive equipment, its complete repression will be followed by certain character traits which are its adult substitutes; its incomplete repression will be followed by character traits which are the opposites of those which follow complete repression, and its complete failure to undergo repression will result in its adult substitution for the normal aim of the sex impulse. For example, if the anal-erotic tendency of infancy is very strong, its complete repression will be followed by the development of such character traits as stinginess, undue orderliness, stubbornness, and a tendency to hoard things; its incomplete repres-

* Freud, Sigmund: "Three Contributions to a Theory of Sex," New York, 1916.

† The omission of questions concerning oral erotism from my list of questions was wholly unintentional and remained undiscovered until the material for the present chapter was assembled for analysis!

sion by extravagance, slovenliness, submissiveness, and the opposite of the hoarding tendency, and its complete escape from repression by a tendency to find in the anal zone a more or less effective rival of the genital zone as a region from which sexual pleasure is sought.

When sublimation of an infantile "polymorphous perverse" tendency occurs, the individual is in an especially fortunate circumstance. Thus the sculptor, who deals in wet, messy modelling clay, is a person who has sublimated a pronounced infantile tendency to find delight in dealing with his anal excretions; the surgeon, who likes to cut people, has sublimated a marked infantile sadism; the actor has sublimated his infantile sexual exhibitionism, etc.

It is never quite safe to quote Freud in detail, since the moment he begins to fit his insights into his system of explanatory formulations he so qualifies every statement that it even finds support in what might at first sight seem to be contradictory evidence. Thus an individual of the completely-repressed-anal-erotic type fits Freud's theory equally well whether he is stingy or extravagant, orderly or disorderly, stubborn or submissive, etc. In re-reading his sexual theory in light of the findings of my recent research it has occurred to me that a future and less prejudiced generation of psychiatrists may find that, whereas Freud's direct insights are to be ranked among the great discoveries of historical times, his own speculative appraisals of his insights for purposes of establishing a systematic explanation of human nature are relatively unimportant. For example, in the tables which follow there will be found impressive evidence in support of his general contention that there is some kind of fundamental relationship between anal-erotic and sado-masochistic tendencies. They also contain cumulative evidence of the existence of a dynamic relationship between anal erotism and certain character traits. On the other hand, when we consider that the 200 persons of my study are, on the whole, a

relatively normal group, too many of them remembered "polymorphous perverse" impulses or behavior in their own lives—and as present at a too remote date from the period of infancy—to fit either the psychodynamic details of Freud's repression theory or his supporting assumptions as to what the facts in the case really are. This point will be given consideration in the latter part of the present chapter. It can be dismissed for the moment with an allusion to a point which seems to me to be worth making: a Sophocles, an Ibsen, or a Freud can unearth facts about human nature which would probably elude scientific inquiry forever, but the problems in the psychodynamics of human ontogenesis which they thus bring to definition will probably find their nearest approach to a final solution in comparative studies by sound methods.

II

Table 385

Card 33: Question 1: *"It is probable that children normally pass through a period during which they find sensual delight in various kinds of nasty thoughts, words, and acts. Give an account of any of your nastinesses of childhood."*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Had nasty thoughts or indulged in nasty acts: details not given	1	3
2. Interested in anal excretions or odors; played with faeces; had skatological fantasies . .	21	16
3. Interested in urine; played with urine . .	21	16
4. There was a sense that the acts, products, and organs of excretion and those involving sex are identical, and that all such things and the words designating them belong together as nasty and forbidden	2	2
5. Plays involving nasal and subungual dirt or excretion, sex organ odors, or things resembling filthy products of the human body . .	3	4
6. Plays or fantasies involving her own breasts	0	5

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
7. Sado-masochistic plays and fantasies	7	3
8. Plays involving pretense that she was menstruating	0	1
9. (Boys) Plays or fantasies having other boys' sex organs for their focus	3	0
10. (Girls) Plays or fantasies having other girls' sex organs for their focus	0	11
11. Copulation plays or fantasies involving animals and other children; interest in the folk word for copulation	20	11
12. Dealings with pictures of nude adults for the sake of their portrayals of the sex organs	0	2
13. (Boys) Peeping impulses; curiosities about girls' sex organs; interest in nude female bodies; mutual exhibitionism with girls	22	0
14. (Girls) Plays or fantasies with the human or animal penis as their focus	0	9
15. Masturbation plays in company with other children of the same sex	18	1
16. Alludes to the solitary masturbations of childhood as nasty	10	0
17. Solitary exhibitionistic fantasies or acts	3	2
18. Being thrilled by seeing female underwear	2	0
19. Singing while in toilet or privy	2	0
20. Discussing the birth of babies	3	1
21. Looking up tabooed words in dictionary *	0	1
22. Was priggish, but picked up nasty words without being fully aware of their meaning	1	0
23. Had only a general curiosity as to sex differences	2	0
24. Merely had sex daydreams	1	0
25. Incestuous impulses and fantasies; nude plays with sisters; playing "man and wife" with sisters	4	0
26. No nasty thoughts or acts until puberty	0	1
27. Did not pass through a period of nastiness during childhood	17	36
28. Inconclusive answers	3	1
Total	166	126

* In answering the four questions on *Card 33*, 8 of the men and 9 of the women made particular reference to the folk word for copulation as a word which much impressed them during childhood. Its tabooed or ever sinister quality is especially alluded to.

Table 386

Card 33: Question 2: *"Do you recall whether or not, as a child, you were fond of prolonging the act of moving your bowels for the sake of pleasant thrills which this gave you?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
1. Yes, had pleasure in moving the bowels	26	13
2. No, but it brought a sense of well-being—of relief	8	2
3. No	65	76
4. No, was troubled with constipation in childhood	1	9
Total	100	100

Table 387

Card 33: Question 3: *"Did voiding urine give you the same kind of pleasure?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
1. Yes	25	16
2. Negative answer, contradicted later by positive answer	2	3
3. Not the act itself, but there was interest in the urine	2	1
4. No, but it brought a sense of satisfaction—of relief	10	1
5. No	59	78
6. Inconclusive answers	2	1
Total	100	100

Table 388

Card 33: Question 4: *"Do you remember whether or not during childhood you were secretly thrilled by obscene words or phrases which you heard, saw written, or uttered yourself?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
1. Yes	52	35
2. No, qualified by references to adolescent interests	10	16

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
3. Not before puberty	2	0
4. No	19	47
5. No, was shocked, repelled, or horrified by such things in childhood	14	2
6. Inconclusive answers	3	0
Total	100	100

Table 389

Card 34: Question 1: *"We have reason to believe that all children normally pass through a period during which they take pleasure in the thought or act of exposing their bodies (particularly their sex organs) to persons of the opposite sex. Do you recall any childish experiences of that kind?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Yes	46	22
2. Negative answer, contradicted elsewhere by a positive answer	7	3
3. No	42	71
4. Inconclusive answers	5	4
Total	100	100

Table 390

Card 34: Question 2: *"Do you recall ever having a party with a (child of the opposite sex) during which you exposed your sex organs to each other?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Yes	29	15
2. Negative answer, contradicted elsewhere by a positive answer	1	0
3. Yes, including mutual exhibitionism with sister	7	0
4. No, but did with children of own sex	1	1
5. No, but such thoughts were in subject's fantasies	1	0
6. No	61	81
7. Inconclusive answers	0	3
Total	100	100

Table 391

Card 34: Question 3: *"When, if ever, during puberty or after it, did you find pleasure in the thought of exposing your sex organ to (persons of the opposite sex)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Never	60	78
2. At various times from puberty onward	26	16
3. Only as an incidental part of a sex episode as a whole	10	6
4. Inconclusive answers	4	0
Total	100	100

Table 392

Card 34: Question 4: *"Do such thoughts (of sexual exposure) still come to your mind?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	73	84
2. Doubts it	1	0
3. Negative answer, contradicted elsewhere by a positive answer	2	0
4. Yes	24	16
Total	100	100

Table 393

Card 34: Question 5: *"If so (thoughts of sexual exposure still come to your mind), do they distress you?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	25	13
2. Doesn't like the idea; such thoughts would be distressing	2	8
3. Has such thoughts and they are distressing	4	3
4. Inconclusive answers	1	0
5. Question inapplicable: such thoughts do not come	68	76
Total	100	100

Table 394

Card 34: Question 6: *"When, if ever, during puberty or after it, did you actually expose your sex organ to a person or persons of the opposite sex for the sake of sexual pleasure which it brought you?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Never	65	78
2. Never, except as an incidental part of a sex episode as a whole	20	12
3. Alludes to post-pubertal exhibitionisms	13	10
4. Alludes to exhibitionism at about the time of puberty	1	0
5. Inconclusive answers	1	0
Total	100	100

Table 395

Card 34: Question 7: *"Is there still a temptation (to expose sex organ)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	81	88
2. Only as an incidental part of a sex episode as a whole	9	7
3. Since such exposure does occur and causes no distress, there cannot be said to be a temptation involved (quoted answer)	1	0
4. Yes	9	5
Total	100	100

Table 396

Card 34: Question 8: *"If so (you are tempted to indulge in exposure of your sex organ), what do you do about it?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Nothing	2	1
2. Simply exercises self-control	1	0

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
3. Dismisses the thought	2	1
4. Exposes self without hesitation (as an incidental part of a sex episode as a whole)	9	8
5. Sometimes asks husband to look at her sex parts, but is usually ashamed to do so	0	1
6. Has no temptation to indulge in exposure of own sex organ	85	89
7. Inconclusive answers	1	0
Total	100	100

Table 397

Card 34: Question 9: *"Does it cause you pleasure, distress you, or both thrill and distress you to have your (spouse) see your exposed sex organ?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Is unaffected by it	45	25
2. It gives pleasure	31	32
3. Gives subject pleasure, but distresses subject's spouse	0	1
4. Gives pleasure if the act is impending, otherwise is unaffected by it	4	0
5. It would thrill her if she loved the man	0	1
6. It sometimes gives pleasure, sometimes causes distress	2	2
7. It gives both pleasure and distress	1	6
8. It causes distress	10	16
9. It now annoys her because their relations are strained	0	1
10. Avoids exposure when they are not in harmony	1	0
11. Fears that her body is not attractive	0	1
12. Avoids exposure; such exposure never happens	2	8
13. Formerly caused distress but does not now	4	5
14. Inconclusive answers	0	2
Total	100	100

Table 398

Card 34: Question 10: *"Do you believe that you are more or less modest than the average (person) in the matter of exposing yourself to (persons of the opposite sex) other than your spouse?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Average; normal, etc.	27	29
2. Less modest	20	24
3. Not more modest than the average	0	3
4. Less modest in copulation, otherwise more modest	0	1
5. Less modest than some, more modest than others	0	1
6. Indifferent	1	1
7. Not less modest than the average	1	0
8. More modest than the average	30	20
9. Inconclusive answers	21	21
Total	100	100

Table 399

Card 34: Question 11: (*For Men*) *"Do you believe that it is natural for a man to take a certain pleasure in exposing his naked body to his wife if she is sexually attractive to him?"* (*For Women*) *"Do you believe that it is natural for a woman to take a certain pleasure in exposing her naked body to her husband if he is sexually attractive to her?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	7	8
2. It is not natural for her to do so	0	4
3. It is unalluring; more artistic not to expose	0	3
4. It seems natural but he has no pleasure in it	3	0
5. Can't imagine pleasure in such behavior alone and in itself	1	0
6. It is unnatural if done unnecessarily	5	0
7. Yes, it is natural	78	74
8. Inconclusive answers	6	11
Total	100	100

Table 400

Card 35: Question 1: *"Do you remember passing through a period at any time from early childhood to the present time during which you were curious to see the sex parts of other persons?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	5	38
2. No, qualified	6	4
3. Yes	73	49
4. Yes, qualified	10	7
5. Negative answer, contradicted elsewhere by positive answer	4	2
6. Had curiosity about female breasts	2	0
Total	100	100

Table 401

Card 35: Question 2: *"If so, at what age did such curiosity (to see the sex parts of other persons) first manifest itself?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Less than 6 years old	16	6
2. From 6 to 11 years of age	47	26
3. From 12 to 14 years of age	13	13
4. After 14 but before marriage	7	9
5. After marriage	0	1
6. Always had such curiosity	4	1
7. Subject considers question inapplicable	10	39
8. Inconclusive answers	3	5
Total	100	100

Table 402

Card 35: Question 3: *"Were you more curious to see the sex parts of men and boys or those of women and girls?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. More curious about sex parts of unrelated males	3	41
2. More curious about sex parts of unrelated females	68	5
3. Was curious about sex parts of both sexes	19	4
4. More curious about sex parts of father or stepfather	0	2
5. More curious about sex parts of mother	1	2
6. More curious about sex parts of sister	1	0
7. Only curiosity was about husband's sex parts	0	1
8. Was curious about sex parts of both father and mother	0	2
9. Had no such curiosity	6	40
10. Inconclusive answers	2	3
Total	100	100

Table 403

Card 35: Question 4: *"Do you remember experiencing thrilling pleasure from stealing peeps of the sex organs of boys? Of men? Of girls? Of women?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Yes—no details given	5	1
2. Yes, animals	1	0
3. Yes, unrelated males	3	19
4. Yes, unrelated females	50	1
5. Yes, persons of both sexes	6	4
6. Yes, husband when first married	0	2
7. Yes, father and brother	0	6
8. Yes, mother or sister	6	0
9. Never stole peeps, but had the desire to do so	3	0
10. Never stole peeps	26	67
Total	100	100

Table 404

Card 35: Question 5: *"To what extent has an earlier tendency to take delight in stealing glimpses of the naked body of (a person of the opposite sex) remained with you?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. To no extent	15	77
2. To no extent: the sight of the naked body of a person of the opposite sex has always been repulsive	1	1
3. Only a slight tendency has remained	10	0
4. Such a tendency is still present	71	15
5. Inconclusive answers	3	7
Total	100	100

Table 405

Card 35: Question 6: *"To what extent, if any, have you indulged a desire to steal glimpses of the nakedness of (persons of the opposite sex) since you have grown up? Please be explicit as to dates."*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. To no extent	25	79
2. Gives a qualified denial to the question	9	0
3. Has done more or less sexual peeping since maturity	63	20
4. Inconclusive answers	3	1
Total	100	100

Table 406

Card 35: Question 7: *"Did you pass through a period as a child during which you took pleasure in trying to steal glimpses of your parents or of other grown persons while they were indulging in the sex act?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	85	85
2. No, but knowing by inference that parents copulated at times, was made uncomfortable by the thought	2	5
3. Was unaffected by the inference that parents copulated	0	3
4. Accidentally interrupted parents copulating and was not upset by the experience	1	1
5. Lacked opportunity to do such peeping	4	0
6. Had the desire to catch parents copulating, but was restrained by fear	0	1
7. Yes, tried to catch parents copulating	4	4
8. Yes, tried to catch persons other than parents copulating	4	1
Total	100	100

Table 407

Card 35: Question 8: *"Give an account of any experiences that you may have ever had in sexual peeping."*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Did peeping before 6 and from 6 to 11	1	1
2. Did peeping before 6 and after 20	0	1
3. Did peeping between 6 and 11	18	11
4. Did peeping between 6 and 11 and between 12 and 20	3	0
5. Did peeping between 6 and 11, between 12 and 20, and after 20	4	0
6. Did peeping between 6 and 11 and after 20	10	0
7. Did peeping between 12 and 20	10	0
8. Did peeping between 12 and 20 and after 20	12	0
9. Did peeping after 20	12	6
10. Has always indulged in sexual peeping	1	0
11. Never indulged in sexual peeping	29	81
Total	100	100

Table 408

Card 36: Question 1: *"Do you remember passing through a period at any time from childhood to the present time when you derived pleasant thrills from inflicting pain on either animals or human beings?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Yes, before 6 years of age	1	2
2. Yes, before 6 and from 6 to 11	0	1
3. Yes, before 6, from 6 to 11, and from 12 to 20	1	0
4. Yes, from 6 to 11	31	15
5. Yes, from 6 to 11 and from 12 to 20	2	0
6. Yes, from 6 to 11, from 12 to 20, and after 20	2	0
7. Yes, from 6 to 11 and after 20	7	2
8. Yes, from 12 to 20	3	0
9. Yes, after 20	4	12
10. Never	49	68
Total	100	100

Table 409

Card 36: Question 2: *"If so (you passed through a period during which you took delight in inflicting pain), please give dates, the kinds of living things which you preferred to use for this purpose, and an account of what you did."*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
Sadistic Objects of Pre-pubertal Period		
1. Parents	1	0
2. Mother	0	1
3. The family	0	1
4. Brother	2	1
5. Sister	4	2
6. Men	0	1
7. Women	2	0
8. Boys	3	2
9. Girls	7	2

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
10. Boys smaller than self	5	0
11. Babies	1	0
12. "Other persons"	5	2
13. "Other children"	0	2
14. Boy chum	2	0
15. Cattle; horses	1	0
16. Beloved animals	0	1
17. Pigs	4	0
18. Dogs	10	2
19. Cats	8	3
20. Kittens	4	0
21. Birds	4	0
22. Domestic fowls	6	1
23. Goldfish	0	1
24. Mice	1	0
25. Snakes; reptiles	1	0
26. Turtles	1	0
27. Frogs	2	1
28. Insects	6	4
29. Dolls	0	1
30. Liked to see things smashed	1	0
31. Beat the bed clothes when in a temper	1	0
32. Had no sympathy for suffering animals	1	0
33. Found satisfaction in the suffering of others	1	0
34. Had no preference: was cruel only when angry	0	2
35. Liked to play on the feelings of others in a cruel way	1	0
36. Had sadistic fantasies	2	1
Total	87	31

Sadistic Objects of Post-pubertal Period

1. Mother	0	1
2. Own children	0	3
3. Own son	1	0
4. Spouse	6	3
5. Lovers	2	2
6. Beloved persons, whether lovers or not	0	1
7. Sexually attractive persons	1	0
8. His patients	1	0
9. Men	1	2
10. Women	1	0
11. Girls	1	0
12. "Other persons"	3	2

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
13. Horses	1	0
14. Dogs	1	0
15. Cats	1	0
16. Kittens	0	1
17. Mice	0	1
18. Insects	0	1
19. Is indifferent to the sufferings of others	0	1
20. Likes to "rub it in on people he has something on"	1	0
21. Subject considers the question as a whole inapplicable	53	69
Total	74	87

Table 410

Card 36: Question 3: *"Does there remain any trace of an earlier tendency to inflict pain on animals or other persons for the pleasure it may bring you?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	67	81
2. No, qualified	6	3
3. Only when angry	2	0
4. Only on rare occasions, in the sex act	1	0
5. Yes	18	9
6. Negative answer, contradicted elsewhere by a positive answer	0	5
7. Likes to inflict mental pain	2	1
8. Still has a trace of emotional coldness at sight of suffering	1	0
9. Is still definitely sadistic	0	1
10. Has sadistic fantasies	3	0
Total	100	100

Table 411

Card 36: Question 4: *"Do you remember passing through a period at any time from early childhood to the present time when you derived pleasant thrills from pain inflicted on you by other persons?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	72	71
2. No, qualified	4	0
3. Had such a tendency before puberty	8	11
4. Had such a tendency before puberty and still has it	2	4
5. Had such a tendency before puberty and during adolescence	2	0
6. Had such a tendency during adolescence	0	2
7. Had such a tendency during adolescence and still has it	1	0
8. Has now such a tendency	7	12
9. Has been masochistic throughout remembered life	3	0
10. Had such a tendency: period of life unspecified	1	0
Total	100	100

Table 412

Card 36: Question 5: *"If (you have ever had masochistic tendencies), please give dates, the kinds of persons whom you preferred to have cause you pain, and an account of actual experiences of this kind."*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
Masochistic Objects of Pre-pubertal Period		
1. Mother	1	1
2. Sister	2	1
3. Brother	0	1
4. Unrelated males	6	5
5. Unrelated females	1	0

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
6. Playmates; chums	0	2
7. "Other persons"	1	3
8. Enjoyed self-inflicted pain	5	2
9. Had masochistic fantasies	5	5
Total	21	20

Masochistic Objects of Post-pubertal Period

1. Spouse	5	7
2. Own baby	0	1
3. Lovers	7	6
4. Beloved persons other than lovers	0	1
5. More powerful males	1	0
6. Dentists	0	1
7. Physicians	1	0
8. Opponents in fights	1	0
9. Sister-in-law	0	1
10. "Other persons"	0	1
11. Self-inflicted pain	1	1
12. Has masochistic fantasies	1	3
13. Subject considers the question as a whole inapplicable	73	72
Total	90	94

Table 413

Card 36: Question 6: *"Does there remain any trace of an earlier tendency to wish that a person who appeals to you sexually would make you feel pain?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	80	73
2. No, qualified	6	2
3. Yes	7	21
4. Yes, qualified	7	4
Total	100	100

Table 414

Card 37: Question 1: *"To what extent, if any, have you a tendency to treasure objects (a lock of hair, a handkerchief, a bit of underwear, etc.) which remind you of a sexually attractive person?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. To no extent	33	45
2. Treasures nothing for sexual reasons (subject answers question by denying the implication that such "treasuring" might have a sexual motivation)	8	6
3. Formerly had such a tendency but hasn't it now	22	14
4. Has a slight tendency to treasure things	18	10
5. Has a definite tendency to treasure things	16	20
6. Has a marked tendency to treasure things	3	5
Total	100	100

Table 415

Card 37: Question 2: *"Have you ever found that the sight of such objects (i.e., objects which remind you of a sexually attractive person) would give you pleasant sexual feelings?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	59	85
2. No, qualified	7	2
3. They did formerly but do not now	1	2
4. Yes	0	9
5. Yes, qualified	32	2
6. Inconclusive answer	1	0
Total	100	100

Table 416

Card 37: Question 3: *"Would you find it at all thrilling to possess a garter or stocking or undergarment of any person whatsoever?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	69	89
2. No, qualified	7	2
3. Would formerly have found it thrilling, but not so now	9	2
4. Yes	15	6
5. Inconclusive answer	0	1
Total	100	100

Table 417

Card 38: Question 1: *"If you were grading yourself as to degree of concern for your personal appearance, would you say that you are slovenly, careless, indifferent, careful, neat, more concerned about your personal appearance than most (persons of your own sex), or just about average in this respect?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Average	28	29
2. Below average	39	38
3. Careful; neat; fastidious	10	15
4. More concerned than the average	19	14
5. Varies as to carefulness and concern	3	4
6. Is both careful and careless	1	0
Total	100	100

Table 418

Card 38: Question 2: *"When you are in the country, as in camp or on a boat, under conditions where personal appearance is of no great practical importance, do you mind going about without ('doing your hair' in the case of*

women and 'shaving' in the case of men) and in slovenly clothes, or do you try to look neat and clean for your own eyes?"

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Ordinary habits of tidiness do not relapse under such conditions	25	69
2. There is a relapse of tidiness under such conditions	33	15
3. There is some degree of let-down of tidy habits	38	14
4. It depends on whether or not there is present a person of the opposite sex	2	1
5. Inconclusive answers	2	1
Total	100	100

Table 419

Card 38: Question 3: *"Do you believe that at any time, from early childhood to the present time, you passed through a period during which you derived a definite thrill of pleasure from looking at your naked body in the mirror, inspecting your naked body as you were bathing, dressing or undressing; or stroking your body as one might stroke a beautiful animal?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	33	45
2. No, qualified	3	0
3. Yes, during childhood	2	3
4. Yes, during adolescence	9	15
5. Yes, since marriage	18	7
6. Yes, always had such a tendency	11	6
7. Yes—period not specified	15	24
8. Negative answer contradicted later by a positive answer	1	0
9. States, with qualifications, that there is now such a tendency	8	0
Total	100	100

Table 420

Card 38: Question 4: *"If you have ever passed through such a period (i.e., of taking pleasure in inspecting or caressing your own body), what traces of this tendency are still detectable in your disposition?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. None	47	56
2. None, qualified	8	1
3. Only a slight tendency remains	9	1
4. This tendency is still definitely present	23	27
5. This tendency is still marked	5	5
6. This tendency has increased up to present time	3	3
7. This tendency has always been present	4	1
8. Inconclusive answers	1	6
Total	100	100

Table 421

Card 38: Question 5: *"During your single days did the sight of your own body give you a longing for a mate who might take pleasure in your body and its ('masculinity' for men and 'femininity' for women)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	54	52
2. No, qualified	2	2
3. Yes	30	39
4. Yes, qualified	13	6
5. Negative answer contradicted later by a positive answer	0	1
6. Inconclusive answer	1	0
Total	100	100

III

Table 422

Relation between (1) Certain Character Traits and (2) Remembered Anal Erotism or Childhood Constipation.

45.71%	of the 35 men who remember anal erotism or childhood constipation . . .	state that they are regarded by their spouses as on either the stingy or the extravagant side of fairness with regard to money matters.
36.92%	of the 65 men who *do not* remember anal erotism or childhood constipation .	
41.67%	of the 24 women who remember anal erotism or childhood constipation .	
22.37%	of the 76 women who *do not* remember anal erotism or childhood constipation.	
77.14%	of the 35 men who remember anal erotism or childhood constipation . . .	admit past or present sadistic fantasies, impulses, or acts.
36.92%	of the 65 men who *do not* remember anal erotism or childhood constipation .	
54.17%	of the 24 women who remember anal erotism or childhood constipation .	
25.00%	of the 76 women who *do not* remember anal erotism or childhood constipation.	
74.28%	of the 35 men who remember anal erotism or childhood constipation . . .	admit past or present masochistic fantasies, impulses, or acts.
18.46%	of the 65 men who *do not* remember anal erotism or childhood constipation .	
54.17%	of the 24 women who remember anal erotism or childhood constipation .	
21.05%	of the 76 women who *do not* remember anal erotism or childhood constipation.	

28.57% of the 35 men who remember anal erotism or childhood constipation . . .	have either a definite or a marked tendency to treasure inanimate objects belonging to a beloved person.
13.85% of the 65 men who *do not* remember anal erotism or childhood constipation .	
33.33% of the 24 women who remember anal erotism or childhood constipation .	
22.37% of the 76 women who *do not* remember anal erotism or childhood constipation.	

82.86% of the 35 men who remember anal erotism or childhood constipation . . .	state that in concern for personal appearance they are (*a*) below average, (*b*) both careful and careless, (*c*) careful, neat, fastidious, (*d*) inclined to vary as to carefulness, or (*e*) above average.
66.15% of the 65 men who *do not* remember anal erotism or childhood constipation .	
75.00% of the 24 women who remember anal erotism or childhood constipation .	
69.74% of the 76 women who *do not* remember anal erotism or childhood constipation.	

It will be seen that in the above table the evidence is uniformly on the side of Freud's general contention that stinginess, extravagance, sadism, masochism, a tendency to hoard comparatively useless things, orderliness, and carelessness sustain important dynamic relationships to anal-erotic tendencies. If I do not misinterpret Freud's theories, persons who recall no anal erotism but who were constipated during childhood are especially apt to be on the stingy side of fairness in money matters, to have a tendency to hoard things and to be more orderly in various ways than are persons whose infantile erotism continued far enough beyond infancy to be remembered in adult years, or who were not sufficiently anal-erotic during infancy to have established the constipation habit for the sake of increasing the pleasures of defecation. It is therefore of interest to examine separately the cases of 1

man and 9 women who denied anal erotism but referred to childhood constipation:

The 1 man who said that he remembered no period of his life during which he found either pleasure or satisfaction in moving the bowels, but who referred to childhood constipation, said that his wife regards him as erratic in his habits and attitudes with reference to money matters; that he recalls sadistic tendencies; that he remembers no masochistic tendencies; that he has no marked or definite tendency to treasure objects which belong to a beloved person, and that he is more concerned about his personal appearance than is the average person. He has, therefore, 3 of the 5 anal character traits which our material has enabled us to examine.

Of the 9 women who remembered no anal erotism but who referred to childhood constipation, 6 are regarded by their husbands as fair in money matters, 2 as extravagant, and 1 as stingy; 4 recall no sadistic tendencies and 5 recall such tendencies; 5 recall no masochistic tendencies and 4 recall such tendencies; 6 have no marked or definite tendency to treasure things and 3 have such a tendency; 4 are "average" as to concern for personal appearance, 2 are below average, and 3 are above average. These findings for the women are, of course, far from affording satisfactory evidence that we can accept without question Freud's scheme for tracing, in detail, the dynamic relations between the reputedly anal-erotic constipation of childhood and adult character traits. He might object, however, that each of these women might have presented at least one of the character traits which he ascribes to the repression of marked infantile anal erotism, and our findings sustain him on this point. Only 1 of the women now under discussion presented none of the traits referred to. This is shown in the next table, in which fictitious case-record numbers are given in order to forestall all possi-

bility of identifying any woman who might have told her friends her "number" in my books:

Table 423

Reputed Anal-Erotic Character Traits of the 9 Women Who Stated That They Recalled No Period of Life During Which They Found Pleasure in Moving the Bowels, but Who Volunteered the Information That They Were Constipated During Childhood.

Case Number	*Reputed Anal-Erotic Character Traits*
1	No such traits.
2	Tendency to treasure things.
3	Above average as to concern for personal appearance.
4	*Sadistic; masochistic.*
5	*Sadistic; masochistic.*
6	Extravagant; *sadistic;* above average as to concern for personal appearance.
7	Stingy; *masochistic;* above average as to concern for personal appearance.
8	*Sadistic;* tendency to treasure things; below average in personal appearance.
9	Extravagant; *sadistic; masochistic;* tendency to treasure things; below average as to concern for personal appearance.

It might be fairly said of *Case 1* that her childhood constipation might have been due to purely physical causes; hence her total lack of anal character traits. It is a somewhat impressive fact that 6 of these 9 women recall sadistic or sado-masochistic tendencies; only 32 of all the 100 women recalled any sadistic tendencies, and only 29 any masochistic tendencies. What perplexes me and leads me to believe that psychoanalysis has not yet supplied us with a tenable psychodynamic theory to account for the facts involved is probably already apparent to those who have read the above table: *Case 7* presents the phenomena of constipated childhood, masochism, above-average in concern for personal appearance *and stinginess,* as, per theorem, she ought. But what of *Case 9,* who presents 4 orthodox anal

character traits but is rated by her husband as extravagant? Or of *Case 6*, who is sadistic and extravagant? Or *Case 8*, who is sadistic and treasures things, but is below the average in concern for personal appearance? I am not unaware of the fact that Freud,* Abraham,* Ferenczi,* and Jones * recognize the many obscurities that have thus far been encountered in clinical studies of this problem, and I am stressing the point in question only because what they say seems to me to be too much involved with speculation and bad methods of observation to be worthy of so great a discovery as that the anal-erotic-sado-masochistic complexus of tendencies is in some kind of fundamental dynamic relationship to an important group of overtly manifested adult reactive tendencies.

IV

In *Table 422* the correlations between *remembered* anal-erotic tendencies and what the psychoanalysts refer to as anal character traits suggest, among other things, that relatively normal persons may often be found to have more of an inkling of the tabooed tendencies and traits than Freud's general theory of psychodynamics would lead us to expect. Of course, ability to recall childhood constipation reflects no such insight, but only one of the thirty-five men who are listed in *Table 422* as remembering anal erotism or childhood constipation merely remembered childhood constipation and not some kind of pleasure in bowel movements. With this in mind, then, let us consider that 77.14 percent of the 35 men in this group remembered sadistic tendencies as against 36.92 percent of men in the non-anal-erotic group who remembered such tendencies;

* Freud, Sigmund: Collected Papers, Vol. II, pp. 164–171. London, 1924.
Abraham, Karl: Selected Papers on Psychoanalysis, pp. 370–392. London, 1927.
Ferenczi, Sandor: Further Contributions to the Theory and Technique of Psychoanalysis, pp. 47, 82, 204, 248, 250, 257, 261, 262, 270, 302, 328, 347, 362, 408, and 420. London, 1926.
Jones, Ernest: Anal-Erotic Character Traits, Papers on Psycho-Analysis, 3d Edition. London, 1923.

and that the corresponding percentages for remembered masochistic tendencies are 74.28 and 18.46. Such considerations as these have encouraged me to believe that much greater reliance can be placed in the ordinary processes of recall than would be conceded by any psychoanalyst in good standing. As a matter of fact, both the American and the foreign reviewers of my previous writings have more or less angrily insisted that, psychiatrically considered, I must be a very naïve person to believe that findings of fundamental importance can be secured by simply asking people about themselves. It can therefore be easily understood why the findings in the next table are offered, not only because they directly suggest some interesting possibilities, but as a fair sample of what can be disclosed by ordinary, non-mystical methods of research. They present cumulative evidence in support of the possibility that isolable psychodynamic factors may play a very important role in the determination of orgasm capacity in women, and yet the findings were obtained in the first instance by a technique which wholly relies upon ordinary processes of recall.

Table 424

Relation of Ability to Recall "Partial," "Component," or "Perverse" Sexual Tendencies to Present Orgasm Capacity in Women.

	Present Orgasm Capacity	
"Do you recall whether or not as a child you were fond of prolonging the act of moving your bowels for the sake of pleasant thrills which this gave you?"	*Adequate*	*Inadequate*
1. Answered question with an unqualified "No" (76 cases) . .	44 (57.89%)	32 (42.11%)
2. All other types of answers (24 cases)	10 (41.67%)	14 (58.33%)
"Did voiding urine give you the same kind of pleasure?"		
1. Answered question with an unqualified "No" (78 cases) . .	47 (60.26%)	31 (39.74%)
2. All other types of answers (22 cases)	7 (31.82%)	15 (68.18%)

"We have reason to believe that all children normally pass through a period during which they take pleasure in the thought or the act of exposing their bodies (particularly their sex organs) to persons of the opposite sex. Do you recall any childish experience of that kind?"		
1. Answered question with an unqualified "No" (71 cases) . .	47 (66.20%)	24 (33.80%)
2. All other types of answers (29 cases)	7 (24.14%)	22 (75.86%)
"Do you remember passing through a period at any time from early childhood to the present time during which you were very curious to see the sex parts of other persons?"		
1. Answered question with an unqualified "No" (38 cases) . .	22 (57.89%)	16 (42.11%)
2. All other types of answers (62 cases)	32 (51.61%)	30 (48.39%)
"Do you remember passing through a period at any time from childhood to the present time when you derived pleasant thrills from inflicting pain on either animals or human beings?"		
1. Answered question with an unqualified "No" (68 cases) . .	41 (60.29%)	27 (39.71%)
2. All other types of answers (32 cases)	13 (40.63%)	19 (59.37%)
"Do you remember passing through a period at any time from early childhood to the present time when you derived pleasant thrills from pain inflicted on you by other persons?"		
1. Answered question with an unqualified "No" (71 cases) . .	42 (59.15%)	29 (40.85%)
2. All other types of answers (29 cases)	12 (41.37%)	17 (58.63%)
"To what extent, if any, have you a tendency to treasure objects (a lock of hair, a handkerchief, a bit of underwear, etc.) which remind you of a sexually attractive person?"		
1. "To no extent" (45 cases) .	30 (66.67%)	15 (33.33%)
2. All other types of answers (55 cases)	24 (43.64%)	31 (56.36%)

"Do you believe that at any time from early childhood to the present time you passed through a period during which you derived a definite thrill from looking at your naked body in the mirror, inspecting your naked body as you were bathing, dressing or undressing; or stroking your body as one might stroke a beautiful animal?"		
1. Answered question with an unqualified "No" (45 cases) . .	28 (62.22%)	17 (37.78%)
2. All other types of answers (55 cases)	26 (47.27%)	29 (52.73%)

A summary of the above table of descriptive correlations brings out the significant fact that without exception a larger percentage of women with a present adequate orgasm capacity was found in each of the 8 groups who gave unqualified negative answers than in the corresponding groups who gave other types of answers. This covers the following so-called component, partial, or perverse sexual tendencies: anal erotism, urethral erotism, exhibitionism, sexual peeping,* sadism, masochism, fetishism, and narcissism. It must be remembered that we were not conducting a clinic of sexual pathology, and that none of the 100 women would be diagnosed as sexually perverted in any of the above-listed directions. One is tempted to formulate a theory for the explanation of the findings in *Table 424* on the spot, but it is primarily the aim of this book to present factual rather than speculative material.

* It would be more accurate to say that we are dealing here with marked curiosity to see the sex parts of other persons than to use the label "sexual peeping."

CHAPTER XIX

Incest and Homosexuality

I

It is a matter of common observation that at some time between the ages of three and five the little boy is likely to pass through a period during which he more or less openly manifests hostility to the father as a rival for the privilege of physical demonstrations of affection with the mother, and that as he grows older he entirely forgets this phase of his life. Although the little girl may pass through a comparable period, her sense of rivalry with the mother for the father's affection (which is often easily apparent throughout childhood and adolescence) is more typically expressed as a desire to be his favorite, to be a more important person in his eyes than is the mother and to secure his championship in conflicts between herself and the mother. The extent to which these early rivalries for the affection of the parent of the opposite sex involve essentially sexual inclinations is more largely a matter of inference (or of speculative definition) than of critical observation. Pathological cases, such as, for example, that of a little patient of mine who made violent and persistent efforts to copulate with his mother after an attack of central neuritis, are not necessarily indicative of what may be true of children in general.

In psychoanalytic theory these supposedly incestuous impulsions of the three-to-five-year period undergo repression well before the sixth year of life, and thereafter may be dynamic in the unconscious for the determination of a great variety of adult attitudes, tendencies, and performances, including various nervous symptoms. My own clini-

cal experience makes it impossible for me to agree with this assumption without certain reservations. Although I frequently encounter psychoneurotics whose symptoms seem clearly enough to be traceable to inhibited incestuous impulsions, in every case such impulsions prove to have been experienced much later in childhood than the three-to-five-year period. In fact, it may be stated as a matter of personal observation that a pathogenically inhibiting fear of incest as such is not likely to occur before the eighth year of life, and the most usual period for its rise falls within the ten-to-fifteen-year period.

It seems to me that Freud's *a priori* assumptions as to the psychodynamics of repression and defensive reaction-formation have led him so to overburden the incest problem with speculative details that he has diverted attention from some very important facts of clinical experience. Thus he classifies the depressions as "narcissistic psychoneuroses," thereby implying that their development belongs to the pathology of ego-love. For a while I accepted this as one of his insights, and as therefore a kind of guide-post to a behavioristic understanding of the depressed patient. A hurried and roughly exploratory study of 200 nervous cases of all sorts during a year of research in 1921 * failed to awaken me to the fallacy of this assumption, but after I had resumed the more leisurely and intensive methods of observing cases that are employed in private practise, therapeutic work with a series of depressed patients led me to a different view of the matter. I found that all of these patients told essentially the same story, viz., (1) their efforts to establish a reasonably satisfying love-life had invariably appeared to be blocked from within; (2) they had had striking difficulties with their incestuous impulsions during the first half of the second decade of life, and (3) their depressions were pre-

* The results of this study are given in my "Introduction to Objective Psychopathology."

cipitated by more or less critical failures to find in non-sexual satisfactions a kind of substitute for the primarily craved love-life. Patients of both sexes were tormented by a sense of inner frustration when they sought to get really "close" to their spouses or lovers, and the women were either incapable of the orgasm or had only the incomplete multiple orgasms to which allusion has already been made. They all gave explicit and convincing accounts of events during the ten-to-fifteen-year period which had brought painfully to an issue in their own minds the fact that son and mother, or daughter and father, or sister and brother are, respectively, female and male; and that as such they are potentially attractive to each other in a way which implies copulation as the ultimate goal.

Now depressions which are severe enough to interfere with the ordinary affairs of life, and which are of the recurring type, are, along with cancer and tuberculosis, among the major afflictions of the race. If, as I suspect, they are typically determined by unsuccessful struggles with the incest problem during late childhood and early adolescence, there is urgent need here for a less futile kind of research than that which leads to an endless multiplication of non-comparable case records. What we have to offer here are, of course, merely the recollections of 200 adults; but all of whom were apprised of the examiner's prepossessions in the same way and to the same extent. *Table 433,* in which are listed their answers concerning the recall of experiences or difficulties with the incest problem, omits reference to the ages at which subjective events of this type occurred. This omission was intentional: many of the subjects were so obviously uncertain as to whether their experiences with incestuous impulsions were had, e.g., at the age of 10, or 12, or 14, that to have included their vague guesses as to dates would have been misleading. The essential datum in each case (with the single exception of a man who recalled sex feelings for his nurse during

early childhood) is to the effect that at some time during late childhood or early adolescence the subject did or did not have a consciousness of the incest problem which can now be remembered.

II

The majority of American adult males probably fear their own homosexual impulsions more greatly than they fear all the other tabooed components of the human reactive equipment taken together. The overt adult male homosexual, who is, after all, merely a person who presents a not very dangerous psychopathological twist, is usually referred to with embarrassment; and yet most of us can discuss embezzlement, plagiarism, incest, and murder without self-consciousness. It is amusing to observe the facial tensions of almost any group of men—even highly sophisticated ones—when allusion is made to the victims of inverted sexuality. The reason for male self-consciousness on this score is to be sought, I suspect, in what appears to be, biologically, a normal feature of male primate psychosexual development. I have shown elsewhere * that the immature male monkey typically passes through a period during which he is overtly and almost exclusively homosexual, and that this period is terminated at sexual maturity by an abrupt turning to heterosexual ways. A fairly extensive study of boys emboldens me to guess that the young male human primate would be actively homosexual for a year or two before and after puberty if he were left to his own devices, undeterred by conflicting taboos. Even the well-known taboos are less in the way of homosexual plays during boyhood and early adolescence than might be expected: only 44 of the 100 men of our study could deny all memory of homosexual plays, and 1 of these felt sure that he had had such experiences, although he could recall none.

* Hamilton, G. V.: "A Study of Sexual Tendencies in Monkeys and Baboons." *Journal of Animal Behavior*, vol. 4, no. 5, pp. 295–318, 1914.

Incest and homosexuality are dealt with here in a single chapter for reasons which will be apparent in a discussion at the end of it. The material itself, as given in the tables which follow, has impressed me as having some important implications for the orientation of persons who have to deal practically with boys and girls. They are trustworthy facts of recall which have been supplied by an exceptionally intelligent group of young men and women who would not, ordinarily, make their experiences with incest and homosexuality available for publication.

III

Table 425

Card 40: Question 1: *"At what age did you learn that human beings, like animals, breed for the sake of the pleasure derived from the act of breeding, and that children are born of their mothers as a consequence of breeding?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Before the age of 6; when very little; seems always to have known it	3	3
2. Between the ages of 6 and 11	40	12
3. Between the ages of 12 and 14	22	12
4. Between the ages of 15 and 20	17	24
5. After 20 but before marriage	1	10
6. During engagement	0	4
7. After marriage	0	9
8. Inconclusive answers	17	26
Total	100	100

Table 426

Card 40: Question 2: *"How did you learn this fact?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. From mother	4	9
2. From stepmother	1	2
3. From father	5	0
4. From an aunt	0	1
5. From a physician	1	1
6. From fiance	0	1

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
7. From a woman friend	0	1
8. From farm laborers	1	0
9. From servants	0	1
10. From older boys or young men	4	0
11. From contemporary children	0	6
12. From contemporaries of own sex	35	16
13. From sister	0	3
14. From brother	0	2
15. From doing social service work	0	2
16. From observing animals	7	1
17. From detecting parents in the sex act	1	0
18. From overhearing others state the fact	3	1
19. From falling in love	0	1
20. From the first illicit copulation	1	0
21. From experience, in marriage	0	7
22. Inferred it from masturbation experience	1	2
23. Inferred it from obscene jokes	1	0
24. Inferred it from seeing Pavlowa and Nordkin dance	0	1
25. Inferred it from reading	11	7
26. Learned it by putting together various bits of information	3	4
27. Realization of the fact came gradually	3	1
28. "Don't know;" "Don't remember," and other inconclusive answers	18	30
Total	100	100

Table 427

Card 40: Question 3: *"Were you shocked? Fascinated? Uninterested? Did it kindle in you a desire to breed?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
(*a*) *Answers as to Reaction to Discovery of the Fact That Human Beings Breed for the Pleasure of the Act.*		
1. Was disagreeably affected	30	27
2. Was interested but not disagreeably affected	52	52
3. Was unimpressed; no significant reaction	9	4
4. It came as part of normal experience of marriage	0	3
5. Inconclusive answers	9	14
Total	100	100

(*b*) *Answers as to Whether Discovery of Fact That Human Beings Breed for the Pleasure of the Act Kindled a Desire for Copulation.*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	46	38
2. No, qualified	6	1
3. Yes	16	16
4. Yes, qualified	6	1
5. Considers question inapplicable because she was married when this discovery was made	0	2
6. Inconclusive answers	26	42
Total	100	100

Table 428

Card 40: Question 4: *"Did the discovery of the fact of breeding kindle in you a desire to breed with a particular (person of the opposite sex)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	80	86
2. No, qualified	4	0
3. Yes	6	9
4. Yes, qualified	3	0
5. Inconclusive answers	7	5
Total	100	100

Table 429

Card 40: Question 5: *"Was it clear to your mind just what the act of breeding is?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	71	78
2. Yes	22	20
3. Yes, qualified	4	0
4. Inconclusive answers	3	2
Total	100	100

Table 430

Card 40: Question 6: *"Did it distress you when the thought came to you that your own parents probably indulged in such behavior?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	47	32
2. The thought didn't come until it was too late in life to be upsetting	17	29
3. The thought was not distressing, but it was difficult to imagine the parents copulating	1	0
4. Was astonished and amused by the realization that they probably did copulate	0	1
5. It caused a sense of shame rather than distress	2	0
6. Was annoyed by the statement, and wouldn't believe that the parents copulated	2	0
7. Was shocked rather than distressed	1	0
8. Was distressed but not seriously	2	9
9. Was more or less seriously distressed	26	29
10. Inconclusive answers	2	0
Total	100	100

Table 431

Card 40: Question 7: (*For Men*) *"Were you afraid that you might think of a female of your own family as a person with whom you, as a male, might breed?"* (*For Women*) *"Were you afraid that you might think of a male of your own family as a person with whom you, as a female, might breed?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	74	90
2. No, qualified	0	5
3. Felt guilty because he wished to see his mother's breasts	1	0
4. Was afraid of her brothers because of their maleness	0	2
5. Yes, had such fear	9	3
6. Had incestuous impulsions but they caused no fear	14	0

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— Men	Women
7. Was distressed by the thought that his mother might be subject to sex desire	1	0
8. Don't know	1	0
Total	100	100

Table 432

Card 40: Question 8: *"Were you tortured, as perhaps the majority of children are at some time or other, by thoughts or imaginations about (those of your family of the opposite sex to your own) as persons with sex organs and, perhaps, breeding desires similar to your own?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— Men	Women
1. No	78	81
2. No, qualified	9	2
3. Yes	9	17
4. Yes, but was distressed rather than tortured by the thought	4	0
Total	100	100

Table 433

Card 40: Question 9: (*For Men*) *"The ordinary, playful contacts and expressions of affection between a boy and his mother or between him and a sister are liable to produce very unpleasant flashes of sex feeling in the boy. He may feel, for a moment, as he would feel if he were having similar contacts with an attractive girl. Do you recall your own flashes of sex feeling toward a sister or your mother (or other closely related family female)? Please discuss this as freely as you can."* (*For Women*) (*Question equivalent to that for the men, with the necessary substitutions of "brother" for "sister," "father" for "mother," "boy" for "girl," etc.*)

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Remembers no such flashes of sex feeling	46	71
2. Gives a qualified denial to the question	0	5
3. Was distressed by evidences of sex feeling of family males toward her	0	7
4. Had flashes of sex feeling toward her father	0	7
5. Had flashes of sex feeling toward his mother	10	0
6. Had flashes of sex feeling toward her brother	0	5
7. Had flashes of sex feeling toward his sister	28	0
8. Had flashes of sex feeling toward both mother and sister	10	0
9. Had flashes of sex feeling toward her stepfather and her brother	0	1
10. Had flashes of sex feeling toward his stepmother	1	0
11. Had flashes of sex feeling toward her brother-in-law	0	1
12. Had flashes of sex feeling toward his nurse	1	0
13. Was interested in his mother's breasts	4	0
14. Had flashes of sex feeling toward her boy cousin	0	2
15. Had such flashes of sex feeling (toward whom not specified)	0	1
Total	100	100

Table 434

Card 40: Question 10: (*For Men*) *"Studies of normal little boys (anywhere between the ages of 2 and 8) show that they pass through a stage of jealousy of the mother, with a consequent dislike of the father as a rival for the mother's affections. After a while they grow ashamed of their jealous, hostile feelings toward the father, and hide such feelings from their own mind. Relax, and let come into your mind any memories that you may have of childish jealousy of your mother, and of hostility toward your father-rival. Tell me whatever comes into your mind in this connection."* (*For Women*) (*Question equivalent to that for the men, with the necessary substitutions of "father" for "mother," and "mother" for "father."*)

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Had no such jealousy	67	59
2. Had no such jealousy: was always fonder of father than of mother	5	0
3. Had no such jealousy: felt protective toward father when mother was quarrelsome	1	0
4. Had no such jealousy: avoided mother's affection, which was excessive	1	0
5. Had no such jealousy: didn't love either parent	2	1
6. Had no such jealousy: hated father	0	1
7. Had no such jealousy: mother made father seem an inferior person to her during childhood	0	1
8. Had no such jealousy: mother was the beloved person in her jealousy reactions	0	6
9. Had no such jealousy: he knew that his mother preferred him	2	0
10. Had no such jealousy: she knew that father preferred her.	0	13
11. During childhood felt himself to be in league with mother against father	1	0
12. Felt that father treated mother badly	5	0
13. Felt annoyed with father for copulating with mother	1	0
14. Suddenly hated father when he caught parents copulating	1	0
15. Felt that mother didn't understand father as she did	0	1
16. Felt that stepmother didn't understand father as she did	0	1
17. Felt more or less hostile to mother at times	0	5
18. Felt hostility toward stepmother	0	1
19. Jealousy was directed against father, mother being the beloved object	7	0
20. Jealousy directed against stepfather, mother being the beloved object	1	0
21. Jealousy directed against mother's lover on father's account	1	0
22. Jealousy directed against brother, mother being the beloved object	1	0
23. Remembers hostility (but not jealousy) directed against father	4	0
24. Jealousy directed against mother, father being the beloved object	0	6

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
25. Jealousy directed against stepmother, father being the beloved object	0	1
26. Jealousy directed against sister, father being the beloved object	0	1
27. Was jealous of the idea that father might remarry	0	1
28. Would have been jealous of any girl who might have come into brother's life	0	1
29. Jealousy directed against aunt, uncle being the beloved object	0	1
Total	100	100

Table 435

Card 40: Question 11: ***"Do you recall any experiences of childhood or later years connected with your detection of your parents in the act of breeding? If so, tell me how such experiences affected you."***

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Had no such experiences	80	73
2. Unaffected by such experiences or inferences	5	3
3. Was interested, stimulated, or thrilled by such experiences or inferences	2	4
4. Was thrilled, yet shrank, when such an experience came	0	1
5. Was embarrassed	1	3
6. Felt uncomfortable	0	2
7. Felt ashamed	1	0
8. Felt disapproval or resentment	0	4
9. Hated father for his part in it	1	0
10. Pitied mother for having to endure it	1	0
11. Distressed; repelled; disgusted	7	10
12. Had such experiences but gives no account of reaction to them	2	0
Total	100	100

Table 436

Card 42: Question 1: *"At what age did you cease to be fully satisfied with friendships with (persons of your own sex) and begin to long for friendships with (persons of the opposite sex) with whom you could go about and do the things that boys and girls do together?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Always had friends of the opposite sex	14	30
2. Never had many friends of own sex	0	1
3. Had love affairs before such a longing came	1	0
4. Before 6; as far back as can be remembered	4	4
5. Between the ages of 6 and 11	13	5
6. Between the ages of 12 and 17	50	40
7. Between the ages of 18 and 20	5	2
8. After 20; "Very late"	2	0
9. Never had such a longing	3	7
10. Never—was satisfied with daydreams	0	1
11. Was so shut off from the possibility of having boy friends that such imaginations never came	0	1
12. Always had stronger friendships with girls than with boys	0	1
13. Inconclusive answers	8	8
Total	100	100

Table 437

Card 42: Question 2: *"At what age did you begin to long for a love affair with (a person of the opposite sex)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Had a love affair before the longing came	13	13
2. Before 6; as far back as can be remembered	3	5
3. Between the ages of 6 and 11	19	12
4. Between the ages of 12 and 17	45	42
5. Between the ages of 18 and 20	5	6
6. After 20; "Very late"	3	3
7. Never had such a longing	7	17
8. Inconclusive answers	5	2
Total	100	100

Table 438

Card 42: Question 3: *"At what age did you first begin to long for an opportunity to have the sex act with (a person of the opposite sex)?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Between the ages of 6 and 11; "Early"	15	1
2. Between the ages of 12 and 15	39	4
3. Between the ages of 16 and 20	28	22
4. After 20; "Very late"	9	13
5. Not until engagement	1	7
6. Not until marriage	1	1
7. Not until after the first sex act	0	1
8. Never had such a longing	3	45
9. Inconclusive answers	4	6
Total	100	100

Table 439

Card 42: Question 4: (*For Men*) *"Tell me about your different boy chums—especially about any boy with whom you may have had an exclusive kind of friendship."* (*For Women*) *"Tell me about your different girl chums—especially about any girl with whom you may have had an exclusive kind of friendship."*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Never had significant friendships with persons of own sex	18	13
2. Alludes to ordinary friendships:		
Before the age of 6	4	2
Between the ages of 6 and 11	27	14
Between the ages of 12 and 15	32	23
Between the ages of 16 and 20	24	15
After 20	6	5
Recent ordinary friendships	8	0
Age not specified	2	9
3. Alludes to "crushes" not involving conscious sex elements:		
Before the age of 6	0	4
Between the ages of 6 and 11	5	4

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
Between the ages of 12 and 15	7	18
Between the ages of 16 and 20	5	14
After 20	3	1
Recent "crushes" as defined above	0	2
4. Alludes to friendships with persons of own sex involving conscious sex attraction but not involving sex organ stimulation:		
Between the ages of 6 and 11	2	4
Between the ages of 11 and 15	7	0
Between the ages of 16 and 20	5	5
After 20	2	1
After marriage	0	4
Recent friendships as defined above	0	1
5. Alludes to friendships which involved sex organ stimulation:		
Between the ages of 6 and 11	20	5
Between the ages of 12 and 15	29	6
Between the ages of 16 and 20	12	6
After 20	4	11
Recent friendships as defined above	0	3
6. Alludes to friendships in which the subject was the unresponsive but unrepulsing object of homosexual crushes:		
Between the ages of 12 and 15	1	0
Between the ages of 16 and 20	1	4
After 20	1	1
Recently	0	1
7. Alludes to homosexual advances of friends which were repulsed by the subject:		
Before the age of 6	1	0
Between the ages of 6 and 11	1	0
Between the ages of 12 and 15	0	1
Between the ages of 16 and 20	1	2
After 20	0	1
Recently	1	1
8. Brother was always his closest friend	5	0
9. Sister was always her closest friend	0	2
10. Mother was always her closest friend	0	1
11. Her young daughter is the closest friend she has ever had	0	1
12. She has always had more girl than boy friends	0	1
13. She has always had exclusive girl friendships	0	1
14. She was very fickle in her friendships	0	1

A digest of the findings from which the above table was constructed discloses the following:

Table 440

Digest of Above Listed Answers to Card 42, Question 4

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Never had significant friendships with persons of own sex	18	13
2. Never had other than ordinary friendships with persons of own sex	23	33
3. Friendships with persons of own sex included one or more crushes which did not involve conscious sex elements	12	34
4. Friendships with persons of own sex included one or more affairs which involved conscious sex attraction but not sex organ stimulation	14	11
5. Friendships with persons of own sex included one or more affairs which involved sex organ stimulation	46	23
6. Friendships with persons of own sex included one or more affairs in which the subject was the unresponsive but unrepulsing object of homosexual crushes	2	6
7. Friendships with persons of own sex included one or more affairs in which the homosexual advances of a friend were repulsed by the subject	3	4

Table 441

Card 42: Question 5: (*For Men*) *"Did there ever come a time when you felt ashamed to show your fondness for a particular boy friend, or for any boy whomsoever, lest people might suspect you of having unnatural (sex) feelings for him, or of engaging in unnatural practises with him?"* (*For Women*) (*The equivalent question was asked, "girl" having been substituted for "boy."*)

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	85	83
2. No, qualified	4	0
3. Yes	8	16
4. Yes, qualified	2	1
5. Inconclusive answers	1	0
Total	100	100

Table 442

Card 42: Question 6: (*For Men*) *"Do you remember passing through a period during which you enjoyed rubbing your sex organ against another boy's leg or engaging in some other play with a boy which had for its object the production of sexual sensation?"* (*For Women*) (*The equivalent question was asked, "girl" having been substituted for "boy."*)

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
Answers of Men		
1. Never engaged in such plays	43	
2. Thinks that he engaged in such plays, but can't remember them	1	
3. Alludes to plays involving mutual masturbation with a boy or man:		
Before the age of 6	3	
Between the ages of 6 and 11	17	
Between the ages of 12 and 15	15	
Between the ages of 16 and 20	3	
After 20	2	
Recently	1	
Age not specified	1	
4. Alludes to plays involving rubbing sex organ against another boy's or man's leg:		
Between the ages of 6 and 11	2	
Between the ages of 12 and 15	3	
Between the ages of 16 and 20	8	
After 20	1	
Age not specified	3	

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
5. Plays involving sodomy with a boy or man:		
Under the age of 6	1	
Between the ages of 6 and 11	4	
Between the ages of 12 and 15	6	
Between the ages of 16 and 20	1	
Age not specified	1	
6. Plays involving fellatio with a boy or man:		
Under the age of 6	1	
Between the ages of 6 and 11	5	
Between the ages of 12 and 15	5	
Recently	2	
7. Answers "Yes" to the question, but does not specify the nature of the homosexual sex play:		
Under the age of 6	1	
Between the ages of 6 and 11	2	
Between the ages of 12 and 15	3	
Between the ages of 16 and 20	2	
Age not given	1	

Table 443

Digest of the Above Findings

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Never indulged in homosexual plays	43	
2. Thinks that he indulged in such plays, but can't remember them	1	
3. Indulged in mutual masturbation with persons of own sex	34	
4. Indulged in plays involving rubbing sex organ against other boy's or man's leg	13	
5. Indulged in sodomy with persons of own sex	12	
6. Indulged in fellatio with persons of own sex	12	
7. Admits homosexual plays, but doesn't specify nature of them	7	

Table 444

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
Answers of Women		
1. Never engaged in such plays		63
2. Derived sex feeling from kissing persons of own sex:		
Between the ages of 16 and 20		3

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—Men	Women
3. Indulged in homosexual plays involving breast stimulation:		
Between the ages of 6 and 11		1
Between the ages of 16 and 20		2
4. Indulged in homosexual plays involving thigh-to-labia stimulation:		
Between the ages of 6 and 11		9
Between the ages of 12 and 15		10
Between the ages of 16 and 20		8
After 20		6
5. Gave a direct "No" in answer to the question, but elsewhere admitted homosexual plays involving thigh-to-labia stimulation:		
Between the ages of 12 and 15		1
Between the ages of 16 and 20		1
After 20		5
6. Was the passive and unresponding object of homosexual aggressions:		
Age not specified		1

Table 445

Digest of the Above Findings

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—Men	Women
1. Never indulged in homosexual plays		63
2. Derived sex feeling from kissing persons of own sex		3
3. Indulged in homosexual plays involving breast stimulation		3
4. Indulged in homosexual plays involving thigh-to-labia stimulation		24
5. In direct answer to the question denied homosexual plays, but elsewhere admitted such plays		6
6. Was the passive and unresponding object of homosexual aggressions		1

Table 446

Card 42: Question 7: *"If (you indulged in homosexual plays), did you pretend in your imagination that it was a*

(person of the opposite sex) with whom you were thus 'fooling,' or was your pleasure due in part to the fact that you liked the (person with whom homosexual plays were indulged), and enjoyed such intimacies with (that person)?"

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. There was no pretense; loved the homosexual playfellow	15	24
2. Indulged in such homosexual plays only for the sensation derived from them	10	3
3. Indulged in such plays in imitation of the animals	0	1
4. Pretended homosexual lover was person of the opposite sex	11	3
5. Subject considers the question inapplicable	51	68
6. "Don't know," "Don't remember," and other inconclusive answers	13	1
Total	100	100

Table 447

Card 42: Question 8: *"Have you ever been tormented by a tendency to construct imaginations of yourself in bed or in some other intimate situation with a (person of your own sex) with whom, in your imagination, you were doing things to produce sexual satisfaction?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	82	92
2. Negative answer, contradicted by positive answer elsewhere	1	0
3. Has constructed such imaginations, but without discomfort	7	3
4. Yes, formerly	2	1
5. Yes, in recent years	0	4
6. Yes (when, not specified)	5	0
7. Inconclusive answers	3	0
Total	100	100

Table 448

Card 42: Question 9: *"Do (homosexual) imaginations still come to you?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	90	94
2. Yes	7	6
3. Yes, when asleep, but not when awake	3	0
Total	100	100

Table 449

Card 42: Question 10: *"Does it make you uncomfortable to have a (person of your own sex) put (his or her) arm about you, or make other physical demonstrations of friendliness?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	37	53
2. No, but doesn't like it	2	0
3. Not now, but it did formerly	1	3
4. Not if the person is one who is liked by the subject	2	2
5. Not unless the person is obviously homosexual	6	0
6. Not unless the other person is self-conscious about it	1	0
7. No, but doesn't like effusive persons of own sex	0	1
8. Doesn't like such demonstrations from masculine women	0	1
9. Not unless there is an element of sex in the demonstration	0	3
10. No for some persons, yes for others	2	3
11. Yes, with reservations	1	7
12. Yes	47	27
13. Inconclusive answers	1	0
Total	100	100

Table 450

Card 42: Question 11: *"To what extent, if any, is any (person of your own sex) attractive to you in a sexual way?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. To no extent	72	69
2. Subject says "to no extent," but qualifies this answer by allusions to aesthetic interest in beautiful bodies, the possibility that under certain conditions homosexual impulsions might be experienced, etc.	5	3
3. To no extent now	0	2
4. To a mild degree	21	3
5. To a considerable extent	1	19
6. The subject is definitely, consciously, and overtly homosexual, and has recently engaged in homosexual practises	1	2
7. Inconclusive answers	0	2
Total	100	100

Table 451

Card 42: Question 12: *"If you have indulged in any kind of sex episode with (persons of your own sex) since your 18th year, please give dates and circumstances."*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
Answers of Men		
1. Has indulged in no homosexual episodes since 18th year	83	
2. Has indulged in mutual masturbation since the 18th year:		
Under 20 years of age but after 17	5	
During the early 20's	4	
In recent years	1	
3. Has indulged in homosexual plays involving rubbing legs with other males since the 18th year:		
Under 20 years of age but after 17	4	
During the early 20's	2	

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
4. Has indulged in sodomy with males since the 18th year:		
Under 20 years of age but after 17	1	
During the early 20's	1	
5. Has indulged in fellatio with males since the 18th year:		
During the early 20's	3	
In recent years	1	

Answers for Women

1. Has indulged in no homosexual episodes since the 18th year.	75
2. Has had homosexual affairs, involving mutual stimulation of sex organs, since the 18th year: *	
Under 20 but after 17	14
During the early 20's	6
In recent years	11

Table 452

Digest of Findings in Above Table

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Has not indulged in homosexual episodes since the 18th year.	83	74
2. Has indulged in homosexual episodes since the 18th year.	17	26
Total	100	100

Table 453

Card 42: Question 13: (*For Men*) *"To what extent, if any, does your fear of appearing perverted prevent you from having the normal, wholesome friendships with men and the friendly regard for boys that the average man is capable of?"* (*For Women*) (*The equivalent question was asked, "women" being substituted for "men" and "girls" for "boys," etc.*)

* The women were less specific in describing their adult and late adolescent homosexual practises than were the men. There were allusions to breast and genital manipulations and erotic kissing, but not to cunnilingus.

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. To no extent	89	96
2. To an appreciable but not to a marked degree	7	3
3. To a considerable degree	3	0
4. Inconclusive answers	1	1
Total	100	100

Table 454

Card 42: Question 14: *"If you could throw aside all considerations of conscience, decency, fear of public opinion, and an underlying desire to be normal, do you believe that any (person of your own sex) would appeal to you sexually?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No	75	79
2. No, qualified	1	6
3. Yes	3	8
4. Yes, with reservations (e.g., "If there were no women in the world." "Possibly, in the case of a girl-like boy," etc.)	13	3
5. Inconclusive answers	8	4
Total	100	100

Table 455

Card 42: Question 15: *"If so, to what extent?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. To no extent	75	81
2. Don't know; uncertain	11	6
3. Very little	4	2
4. To a mild degree	8	4
5. Considerably	2	7
Total	100	100

IV

My assistant, Gladys Terry, has called my attention to a suggestive relationship between incest and homosexuality which became apparent to her while she was making cross references within individual case records. Unfortunately, the point which she has in mind could not very well be exemplified save by identifying references to detailed statements of subjects who seemed to have turned to homosexuality because they had been frightened away from heterosexuality by adverse emotional experiences relating to their own incestuous impulsions. Mrs. Terry and I formulated a guess in the matter which does not fare as well in the following table of descriptive correlations as we had expected, but I believe that both the guess and the correlations are worth presenting:

It seemed to us that since for most children there is a strong taboo against heterosexuality in general, it is likely that many of them cannot permit themselves to think about such matters clearly enough to establish a difference in reactive value between incestuous and non-incestuous heterosexual urges. In consequence of this identity of reactive value, any event, inner or outer, which brings the incest problem sharply to an issue for the child is likely to precipitate an inhibitive set against heterosexual urges in general. It follows, theoretically, that in such cases the craving for sexual satisfaction is likely to find an outlet in either autoerotism or homosexuality, or both.

In the table which directly follows, we find a measure of support for our theory in the circumstance that, although the evidence is very thin in spots, it is uniformly favorable. Both Mrs. Terry and I fully appreciate the fact that at best we have merely disclosed a possibility which correlations of data from an adequate number of cases might easily upset.

Table 456

Correlations between Remembered Incestuous Experiences or Impulsions and Remembered Homosexual Experiences or Impulsions.

	Remembers No Incestuous Experiences or Impulsions	*Remembers Incestuous Experiences or Impulsions*
(*Men*)		
Never had any significant friendships with persons of his own sex (18 cases)	15 (83.33%)	3 (16.67%)
Had friendships with persons of his own sex (this includes ordinary friendships as in *Table 439*) (82 cases)	31 (37.80%)	51 (62.20%)
Total (100 cases)	46	54
(*Women*)		
Never had any significant friendships with persons of her own sex (13 cases)	11 (84.62%)	2 (15.38%)
Had friendships with persons of her own sex (this includes ordinary friendships as in *Table 439*) (87 cases)	60 (68.97%)	27 (31.03%)
Total (100 cases)	71	29

Correlations between Remembered Incestuous Experiences or Impulsions and History as to Remembered Homosexual Plays Involving Sex Organ Stimulation.

	Remembers No Incestuous Experiences or Impulsions	*Remembers Incestuous Experiences or Impulsions*
(*Men*)		
Had no friends of own sex with whom plays were indulged which involved sex organ stimulation (54 cases)	30 (55.56%)	24 (44.44%)

Had friends of own sex with whom plays were indulged which involved sex organ stimulation (46 cases)	16	(34.78%)	30	(65.22%)
Total (100 cases) . .	46		54	

(Women)

Had no friends of own sex with whom plays were indulged which involved sex organ stimulation (77 cases)	56	(72.73%)	21	(27.27%)
Had friends of own sex with whom plays were indulged which involved sex organ stimulation (23 cases)	15	(65.22%)	8	(34.78%)
Total (100 cases) . .	71		29	

Correlations between Remembered Incestuous Experiences or Impulsions and History as to Homosexuality After the 18th Year.

	Remembers No Incestuous Experiences or Impulsions		*Remembers Incestuous Experiences or Impulsions*	
(Men)				
Had no homosexual experiences after the 18th year (83 cases) .	40	(48.19%)	43	(51.81%)
Had homosexual experiences after the 18th year (17 cases) . .	6	(35.29%)	11	(64.71%)
Total (100 cases) . .	46		54	
(Women)				
Had no homosexual experiences after the 18th year (74 cases) .	54	(72.97%)	20	(27.03%)
Had homosexual experiences after the 18th year (26 cases) . .	17	(65.38%)	9	(34.62%)
Total (100 cases) . .	71		29	

CHAPTER XX

Miscellaneous Data

I

The answers to all but two of the questions on *Card 43* are listed in Chapter III. The answers to these remaining two follow directly:

Table 457

Card 43: Question 3: (*For Men*) *"If you could make your wife over, what changes would you make in the following physical qualities: Height? Weight? Figure? Complexion? Quality of skin? Color of hair? Color of eyes? Tightness or looseness of that part of her which you enter with your sex organ during the sex act?"* (*For Women*) *"If you could make your husband over, what changes would you make in any of the following physical qualities: Height? Weight? Figure? Complexion? Quality of skin? Color of hair? Color of eyes? Size of his sex organ?"*

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. Would make no changes at all in physical qualities	38	45
2. Would make changes in height:		
Would make spouse taller	9	29
Would make spouse shorter	7	1
3. Would make changes in weight:		
Would make spouse thinner; more slender; not so heavy	17	10
Would make spouse less thin; heavier	11	15
4. Would make changes in figure:		
Smaller hips	3	2
Legs not so thin	0	1
More shapely legs	4	2

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
More shapely ankles	2	0
More shapely arms	2	0
Less short-waisted	0	1
Less bulky in the middle	0	1
Neck less fat	0	1
Shoulders less fat	0	1
Broader shoulders	0	1
Not round-shouldered	0	1
Better developed chest	1	0
Not so flabby; more muscular; firmer muscles	4	2
A stronger physique	0	4
Bigger all round	0	1
More supple	0	2
More masculine in appearance	0	4
More erect	3	3
More graceful	2	0
A better figure	0	1
Trimmer figure	5	0
Better developed breasts	5	0
Firmer, less pendulous breasts	4	0
Breasts not so large	3	0
Better coordinations	1	0
Greater vitality	3	0
Healthier looking body	1	0
5. Would make changes in skin or complexion:		
Fairer	5	4
Darker	0	3
More color	7	1
Less color	0	1
Finer texture of skin	14	4
Less hair on body	1	2
More hair on body	0	1
6. Would make changes in hair:		
Lighter	3	1
Darker	5	5
Not grey	2	1
Curly	2	0
Better quality	5	4
More hair; not bald	0	7
7. Would make changes in eyes:		
Grey instead of blue	1	0
Grey instead of brown	0	1
Dark blue instead of light blue	0	1

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
Blue instead of dark	3	2
Dark instead of blue	9	3
Larger	1	0
Brighter	1	0
Less protuberant	0	1
Clearer, like father's	0	1
Not in need of glasses	0	1
"Would have more satisfactory eyes"	0	1
8. Would make changes in sex organ:		
Would like her vagina tighter	17	0
Would like her vagina looser	9	0
Would like his sex organ larger	0	5
Would like his sex organ smaller	0	3
Would like him to have a more vigorous sex organ	0	1
Would like him to have "a more satisfactory sex organ"	0	1

Table 458

Card 43: Question 5: *"Are there any other changes that you would make in (your spouse's) body or mind if you could?"* *

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
Additional Physical Changes		
1. Would make no other changes in physical qualities	80	86
2. Would make changes in physical qualities in addition to those already enumerated in answering Question 3:		
Would make changes, but don't know just what	0	1
Taller	1	1
Heavier	0	1
More shapely legs	1	0
Stronger knees	1	0
Better ankles	2	0

* In Question 3 the subjects had already been given an opportunity to make over their spouses in 8 different general types of physical qualities, and in Question 4 they had a similar opportunity with reference to 15 different types of mental qualities.

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers—*Men*	*Women*
Nicer hands	1	1
Firmer breasts	3	0
More graceful body	1	0
More athletic figure	2	0
Greater vitality	4	0
Better health	5	2
Finer skin	1	0
Less hair on body	0	1
Better nose	2	4
Better mouth	2	1
Better teeth	0	2
Better shape of back of head	0	2
More like his mother	1	0
Better looking; beautiful	1	1
Would have spouse all different physically	0	1

Additional Mental Changes

1. Would make no other mental changes	66	64
2. Would make changes in mental qualities in addition to those already enumerated in answering Question 4*	34	36

II

Table 459

Card 44: Question 1: *"You have now answered a great many questions about yourself and quite a few about your (spouse). Perhaps these questions have started you thinking about things more clearly than is your usual habit. In view of this possibility, do you wish to go over any of the questions again and change, or add to, your first answers to them?"*

* One might expect that after having had a chance to change the spouse's mental qualities with reference to 15 different major points nothing would remain to be said. This expectation was not fulfilled, and the list of additional changes is a very interesting one. Unfortunately, many of the subjects alluded to such specifically identifying mental qualities of their spouses which they wished to change that it would be unfair to publish the list. The answers to Questions 3, 4, and 5 proved to be rather depressing to the examiner, who had never before realized that there are so many ways in which spouses can be displeasing to each other.

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
1. No; have answered as fully as could; did not consciously hold back anything, etc.	64	55
2. Seems to have forgotten something, but can't remember what it was; feels that questions might have been answered more adequately or more intelligently, etc.	7	7
3. Discusses the research aspects of the examination	4	1
4. Makes statements defensive of spouse, feeling that the earlier given criticisms may have been somewhat unjust	4	6
5. Makes statements derogatory to the spouse	2	7
6. Alludes to a fault which spouse finds in him (or her)	1	1
7. Forgot to mention incest dreams with mother the object	1	0
8. Adds points of information concerning mother	4	0
9. Alludes to her earlier dislike of mother	0	1
10. Adds points of information about father	0	3
11. Asks why no questions were asked about her sisters	0	1
12. Forgot to mention difficulties growing out of niece's visit	0	1
13. Forgot to tell about one or more love affairs in answering the questions on *Card 14*	5	10
14. Forgot certain details of previously described love affairs	3	3
15. Previously said she liked competition in erotic fantasies, but now doubts if this is so	0	1
16. Forgot to give various details of fantasy life	2	4
17. Forgot to mention some of the qualities she doesn't like in men	0	1
18. Forgot to mention some of the qualities he doesn't like in women	1	0
19. Forgot certain details of homosexual life	0	2
20. Forgot certain details of heterosexual life	14	1
21. Corrects date given for husband's first masturbation	0	1
22. Add various details concerning own subjective inferiorities	0	5
23. Alludes to traits of own temperament	2	0
24. Forgot to mention a nervous illness during adolescence	0	1

Types of Answers	No. of Persons Giving Such Answers— *Men*	*Women*
25. Corrects previously given figures concerning husband's income.	0	2
26. Brought suit case along, announcing intention to leave husband forever (but didn't leave him after all, and went home and made a better adjustment to the marital situation) . .	0	1

III

At the conclusion of the formal examination the subject was asked for information on various points which involved mere matters of objective fact, and which therefore called for the application of no particular technique. This material was studied in its relation to the degree of satisfaction which the various subjects had found in their marriages; hence its presentation in tables of descriptive correlations rather than separately. Another departure from the method of presenting results used in the preceding chapters will be noticed here: the spouses who were rated as having expressed a considerable degree of dissatisfaction with their marriages as a whole are thrown together with those who expressed a high degree of dissatisfaction. This simplification of the tables is justified, in my opinion, by the fact that the "satisfaction grades" of the spouses are correlated here with purely objective data.

1. *The figures in the tables below should be read up and down rather than laterally, and attention given to percentages alone.* When this is done, it will be found that the next table shows almost no hint of a suggestive relationship between date of birth and degree of satisfaction with the marriage as a whole:

Table 460

Relation of Date of Birth to Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole.

Date of Birth	*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*	
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction	*Considerable to High Degree of Dissatisfaction*
	(*Men*)	
1880 or earlier (10 cases) . .	5 (50.00%)	5 (50.00%)
1881 to 1890 (49 cases) . .	25 (51.02%)	24 (48.98%)
After 1890 (41 cases) . . .	21 (51.22%)	20 (48.78%)
Total (100 cases) . .	51	49
	(*Women*)	
1880 or earlier (11 cases) . .	5 (45.45%)	6 (54.55%)
1881 to 1890 (39 cases) . .	18 (46.15%)	21 (53.85%)
After 1890 (50 cases) . . .	22 (44.00%)	28 (56.00%)
Total (100 cases) . .	45	55

2. A few of the spouses were examined during the last three months of 1924, and the remainder during 1925 and 1926; hence all marriages that dated from 1921 or later were relatively recent ones. It is interesting that in the case of both the men and the women, the marriages which date from 1921 or later furnish the highest percentage of satisfied spouses, whilst the 1916 to 1920 marriages furnish the lowest percentage. This correspondence between the findings for men and those for women is due to some extent, of course, to the circumstance that 55 couples were represented in the total group of 200 spouses; but the importance of this factor can easily be over-rated because: (1) after all, there were 45 men and 45 women whose spouses were not included in the list of subjects, and (2) there were couples in which one spouse belonged to the satisfied and one to the dissatisfied group.

Table 461

Relation of Date of Marriage to Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole.

Date of Marriage	*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*	
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction	*Considerable to High Degree of Dissatisfaction*
(Men)		
1915 or earlier (35 cases) . .	17 (48.57%)	18 (51.43%)
1916 to 1920 (32 cases) . .	14 (43.75%)	18 (56.25%)
1921 to 1925 (33 cases) . .	20 (60.61%)	13 (39.39%)
Total (100 cases) . .	51	49
(Women)		
1915 or earlier (42 cases) . .	17 (40.48%)	25 (59.52%)
1916 to 1920 (33 cases) . .	12 (36.36%)	21 (63.64%)
1921 to 1925 (25 cases) . .	16 (64.00%)	9 (36.00%)
Total (100 cases) . .	45	55

3. The relative ages of a couple as a factor in determining the degree of satisfaction which each finds in the marriage is a matter of some importance from a psychiatric standpoint. Theoretically, a man who marries a woman who is his senior has retained a higher degree of dependence on the mother-son type of relationship, or, at least, is less in revolt against his dependence in this direction, than is the man who marries his junior. If both propositions correspond to the realities of this phase of human nature, it might be expected that a man who is younger than his wife will have a better than average chance of finding satisfaction for himself in the marriage. Of course our figures are too small to be convincing on any score, but it is of interest that we find our highest percentages of satisfied spouses in the groups in which the husbands were from one to three years younger than their wives or were of equal age with respect to them. In sharp

contrast to this is the finding that no man or woman found satisfaction in any marriage in which the wife was as much as 7 years older than the husband. The 200 subjects presented a total of 17 different cases in which men had married women who were from one to three years their senior, with results which are shown in the next table. There were in all 5 marriages represented in which the wife's seniority was 7 or more years. Four of these 5 marriages have terminated in separation or divorce, and the 5th is an unsuccessful one. This suggests that there is a point at which seniority of the wife ceases to be a favorable factor and becomes a very unfavorable one. Perhaps this is because a wife who is as much as 7 years older than her husband stands in a too suggestively maternal relationship to him for his contentment. Another possibility is also to be sought in the possibility that a woman who marries a man many years her junior is responding to a homosexual urge in doing so.

Table 462

Relation of Relative Age of Spouses to Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole.

Relative Age of Spouses	*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*	
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction	*Considerable to High Degree of Dissatisfaction*
(*Men*)		
Husband 7 to 10 years younger than wife (3 cases) . . .	0 (00.00%)	3 (100.00%)
Husband 1 to 3 years younger than wife (13 cases) . . .	8 (61.54%)	5 (38.46%)
Husband and wife of equal age (10 cases)	6 (60.00%)	4 (40.00%)
Husband 1 to 5 years older than wife (55 cases)	28 (50.91%)	27 (49.09%)
Husband more than 5 years older than wife (19 cases) . . .	9 (47.37%)	10 (52.63%)
Total (100 cases) . .	51	49

	Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage	
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction	*Considerable to High Degree of Dissatisfaction*
(*Women*)		
Husband 7 to 11 years younger than wife (4 cases) . . .	0 (0.00%)	4 (100.00%)
Husband 1 to 3 years younger than wife (9 cases) . . .	5 (55.56%)	4 (44.44%)
Husband and wife of equal age (11 cases)	8 (72.73%)	3 (27.27%)
Husband 1 to 5 years older than wife (49 cases)	19 (38.78%)	30 (61.22%)
Husband more than 5 years older than wife (27 cases) . . .	13 (48.15%)	14 (51.85%)
Total (100 cases) . .	45	55

4. Twenty-five of the women and 27 of the men stated that they had never had children; 24 women and 27 men had had 1 child each; 24 men and 25 women had had 2 children each, and 22 men and 26 women had had more than 2 children each. This included all children that had been borne by the 100 women or begotten by the 100 men, whether legitimately or illegitimately, or in a first or a second marriage. Sixteen women had each lost 1 child, and 1 woman had lost 2 children. Seven men had each lost 1 child, and 1 man had lost 2 children. Correlations of these data with those relating to degree of satisfaction with the marriage showed nothing suggestive.

5. In the next table we find that for both the men and the women the lowest percentage of satisfied ones is among those who attended college without graduating. We also find that for both sexes those who had never attended college furnished the highest percentage of satisfied spouses.

Table 463

Relation of History as to Formal Education to Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole.

Formal Education	*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*	
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction	*Considerable to High Degree of Dissatisfaction*
(Men)		
Graduated from college (78 cases)	40 (51.28%)	38 (44.72%)
Attended college but did not graduate (12 cases)	4 (33.33%)	8 (66.67%)
Never attended college (10 cases)	7 (70.00%)	3 (30.00%)
Total (100 cases) . .	51	49
(Women)		
Graduated from college (46 cases)	20 (43.48%)	26 (56.52%)
Attended college but did not graduate (27 cases)	10 (37.04%)	17 (62.96%)
Never attended college (27 cases)	15 (55.56%)	12 (44.44%)
Total (100 cases) . .	45	55

6. Educational differences as a factor in determining the satisfaction of spouses might prove to be of some importance in a study of this kind if a sufficient number of cases were examined. The relative percentages are what one might expect in all but one of the 6 cases given below; it is rather surprising to find that 7 of the 9 men who are inferior in education to their wives belong to the satisfied group when we consider that 17 of the 25 women from families in which this disparity obtained belonged to the dissatisfied group.

Table 464

Disparities of Education	*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*	
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction	*Considerable to High Degree of Dissatisfaction*
(Men)		
Spouses have equal degree of formal education (34 cases)	22 (64.71%)	12 (35.29%)
Husband has higher degree of formal education than wife (57 cases)	22 (38.60%)	35 (61.40%)
Wife has higher degree of formal education than husband (9 cases)	7 (77.78%)	2 (22.22%)
Total (100 cases)	51	49
(Women)		
Spouses have equal degree of formal education (27 cases)	14 (51.85%)	13 (48.15%)
Husband has higher degree of formal education than wife (48 cases)	23 (47.92%)	25 (52.08%)
Wife has higher degree of formal education than husband (25 cases)	8 (32.00%)	17 (68.00%)
Total (100 cases)	45	55

7. There is a cynical saying to the effect that almost any woman can love almost any man if he has plenty of money and a disposition to spend it for her benefit. The findings in the next table do not wholly refute this adage.

Table 465

Relation of Husband's Vocation to Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole.

Husband's Vocation		*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*	
		Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction	*Considerable to High Degree of Dissatisfaction*
	(*Men*)		
Business (22 cases)		15 (68.18%)	7 (31.82%)
Advertising	5		
Assistant controllers	1		
Business specialists	2		
Importers	2		
Insurance	1		
Manufacturers	3		
Managers	2		
Real estate	1		
Business not specified	5		
	(22)		
Professional pursuits other than engineering (32 cases)		13 (40.63%)	19 (59.32%)
Psychologists	6		
Psychiatrists	5		
Scientific research	3		
Teachers	6		
Architects	3		
Dentists	1		
Lawyers	4		
Social workers	2		
Sociologists	1		
Surgeons	1		
	(32)		
Engineers (11 cases)		3 (27.27%)	8 (72.73%)
Industrial	1		
Mechanical	4		
Safety	1		
Sales	2		
Structural	1		
Architectural	1		
Commercial	1		
	(11)		

		Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage	
		Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction	*Considerable to High Degree of Dissatisfaction*
Literary and artistic pursuits (26 cases)		13 (50.00%)	13 (50.00%)
Actors	1		
Artists	4		
Editors	7		
Musicians	2		
Musical composers	1		
Playwrights	3		
Dramatic producers	1		
Writers	3		
Journalists	1		
Editorial assistants	1		
Publishers	1		
Poets	1		
	(26)		
Religious work (6 cases)		6 (100.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Y. M. C. A. officials	2		
Clergymen	1		
Theological students	3		
	(6)		
Students (other than theological) (2 cases)		0 (0.00%)	2 (100.00%)
No occupation (1 case)		1 (100.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Total (100 cases)		51	49
	(Women)		
Business (29 cases)		16 (55.17%)	13 (44.83%)
Advertising	5		
Assistant controllers	1		
Bankers	2		
Brokers	2		
Business specialists	2		
Importers	1		
Insurance	2		
Manufacturers	3		
Managers	1		
Merchants	1		
Real estate	2		
Salesmen	2		
Business not specified	5		
	(29)		

		Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage	
		Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction	*Considerable to High Degree of Dissatisfaction*
Professional pursuits other than engineering (33 cases)		13 (39.39%)	20 (60.61%)
Psychologists	3		
Psychiatrists	2		
Scientific research	3		
Teachers	10		
Architects	1		
Dentists	1		
Lawyers	9		
Social workers	1		
Sociologists	2		
Surgeons	1		
	(33)		
Engineers (12 cases)		5 (41.67%)	7 (58.33%)
Chemical	1		
Civil	1		
Electrical	2		
Industrial	1		
Mechanical	3		
Safety	1		
Sales	1		
Structural	2		
	(12)		
Literary and artistic pursuits (20 cases)		9 (45.00%)	11 (55.00%)
Actors	1		
Artists	4		
Editors	3		
Musicians	2		
Musical composers	1		
Playwrights	1		
Dramatic producers	3		
Writers	1		
Journalists	2		
Editorial assistants	1		
Publishers	1		
	(20)		
Religious work (1 case)		1 (100.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Clerical workers (3 cases)		0 (0.00%)	3 (100.00%)
No occupation (2 cases)		1 (50.00%)	1 (50.00%)
Total (100 cases)		45	55

8. There were too few women in any one vocational group to justify a more detailed table of descriptive correlations than is given below. It will be seen that there was a smaller percentage of satisfied spouses in the families in which the wife had an extra-domestic vocation than in those in which she had none.

Table 466

Relation of Wife's History as to Extra-domestic Vocation to Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole.

Wife's Vocation		*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*	
		Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction	*Considerable to High Degree of Dissatisfaction*
	(*Men*)		
Wife has no extra-domestic vocation (60 cases)		33 (55.00%)	27 (45.00%)
Wife has extra-domestic vocation (40 cases)		18 (45.00%)	22 (55.00%)
Business	2		
Psychologists	3		
Scientific research	3		
Teachers	9		
Actors	1		
Artists	4		
Editors	3		
Musicians	1		
Playwrights	1		
Poets	1		
Writers	1		
Editorial assistants	1		
Secretaries	4		
Stenographers	2		
Students	4		
	(40)		
Total (100 cases)		51	49

	(Women)		
Wife has no extra-domestic vocation (55 cases)		27 (49.09%)	28 (50.91%)
Wife has extra-domestic vocation (45 cases)		18 (40.00%)	27 (60.00%)
Business	5		
Psychologists	2		
Psychiatric social workers	2		
Scientific research	2		
Teachers	7		
Actors	1		
Artists	3		
Editors	4		
Musicians	1		
Playwrights	2		
Poets	1		
Dramatic producers	2		
Writers	6		
Clerks	1		
Secretaries	5		
Students	1		
	(45)		
Total (100 cases)		45	55

9. It is of some interest that for both the men and the women the higher percentage of satisfied spouses is found in the group in which the mother was more than 30 years the subject's senior.

Table 467

Relation of Seniority of Mother to Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole.

Seniority of Mother	*Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage*	
	Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction	*Considerable to High Degree of Dissatisfaction*
(Men)		
Mother not more than 30 years the subject's senior (61 cases)	29 (47.54%)	32 (52.46%)
Mother more than 30 years the subject's senior (36 cases)	20 (55.56%)	16 (44.44%)

	Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage: Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction	Considerable to High Degree of Dissatisfaction
Information not obtained (3 cases)	2 (66.67%)	1 (33.33%)
Total (100 cases)	51	49
(Women)		
Mother not more than 30 years the subject's senior (53 cases)	22 (41.51%)	31 (58.49%)
Mother more than 30 years the subject's senior (43 cases)	21 (48.84%)	22 (51.16%)
Information not obtained (4 cases)	2 (50.00%)	2 (50.00%)
Total (100 cases)	45	55

10. Although the percentages in the above table give only slight evidence in support of the possibility that the children of younger mothers are somewhat less likely to find satisfaction in marriage when they grow up than are the children of older mothers, we cannot wholly ignore the fact that the evidence is in this direction for both the men and the women. In the next table the seniority of fathers does not appear to be a factor of any importance:

Table 468

Relation of Seniority of Father to Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage as a Whole.

Seniority of Father	Present Degree of Satisfaction with the Marriage: Fair to High Degree of Satisfaction	Considerable to High Degree of Dissatisfaction
(Men)		
Father not more than 30 years the subject's senior (29 cases)	15 (51.72%)	14 (48.28%)
Father more than 30 years the subject's senior (69 cases)	34 (49.28%)	35 (50.72%)

Information not obtained (2 cases)	2	(100.00%)	0	(0.00%)
Total (100 cases) . .	51		49	

(*Women*)

Father not more than 30 years the subject's senior (34 cases) .	15	(44.12%)	19	(55.88%)
Father more than 30 years the subject's senior (62 cases) .	28	(45.16%)	34	(54.84%)
Information not obtained (4 cases)	2	(50.00%)	2	(50.00%)
Total (100 cases) . .	45		55	

CHAPTER XXI

Sequences and Patterns

I

The requirements of psychobiological research justify the investigator's efforts to tease out, identify, and stress particular phases or aspects of human life which he seeks to describe and explain, but he must never lose sight of the fact that each individual with whom he is dealing is a dynamic as well as a structural unit. Our real concern is, in the end, with the Humpty Dumpty who sits on the wall, and not with the separate bits of him which lie scattered on the ground after his fall. The scientist's task is a difficult one when he undertakes to put together what he has taken apart, but it is not quite so hopeless as the one that would have confronted all the king's horses and all the king's men had they undertaken the reintegration of Humpty Dumpty after his accidental analysis. Of course, we can never hope to reconstruct anything like a complete individual out of the products of our analyses, but we can fruitfully take steps in that direction. The first step to take toward such syntheses after analysis and classification is to explore for pairs of phenomenal types which may seem to belong together in suggestive relationships. Thus the many tables of descriptive correlations that are given in the preceding chapters are, in a sense, records of first steps toward building individual types out of the fragments of human nature which are described and listed in tables of answers to questions. It must be remembered, however, that such first steps must be taken with material from a much greater number than 200 cases before we can say with any degree of certainty that such phenomenal combinations

as (for example) "you-marry-a-woman-who-resembles-your-mother-physically: you-remain-satisfied-with-your-bargain" have the kind of meaning that can be ascribed to the combination, "living-in-northern-Ohio: having-simple-goitre."

If for no other reason than that the individual investigator's time and energy are at best all too limited, it is sometimes desirable to take the second step of a logically defined research procedure before the first step has accomplished all that is required for a permanent advance. Some of us must act as scouts, hurrying on ahead, testing possibilities for advance in various directions, hoping all the while that one will be found which the main army can follow.

As a kind of second step toward reintegrating the products of my analyses I have transferred each person's case record to a big, white card on which a maximum of 467 different types of information about him can be indicated by appropriately located perforations. It is impossible to reproduce one of these cards here, even in miniature: each one contains 5,429 numbered dots, which are distributed somewhat as follows:

(1) 1·2·3·4·5·6·7·8·9· (2) 1·2·3·4·5·6· (3) 1·2·3·4·5·6· (4) 1·2·3·4· (5) 1·2·3·4·5·6·7· (6) 1·2·3·4· (7) 1·2·3·4· (8) 1·2·3· (9) 1·2·3· (10) 1·2·3·4·5· (11) 1·2·3·4·5·6·7·8· (12) 1·2·3·4·5·6·7·8·9·10·11· (13) 1·2·3·4·5·6·7·8·9·10· (14) 1·2·3·4·5· (15) 1·2·3·4·5·6·7·8·9·10·

Let us suppose now that we have before us, not this highly abridged specimen, but the big, white card with its thousands of numbered dots. Mr. XYZ's record is to be transferred to it. He is highly satisfied with his marriage, was born after 1890, married after 1920, has one child, graduated from college . . . gained his first sex information by observing farm animals . . . never feared that his sex organ might seem to others to be undersized . . . mar-

ried a woman who is physically like his mother, etc., throughout a long list of points of information about him which were obtained by an analysis of his record. This is to be his "pattern" card, and we are going to punch holes in it in such a manner that there will be an appropriately placed hole for each of the several hundred different things that we know about him. With our key at hand we find that, if we punch out the first dot after the bracketed (*1*), the resulting hole will show that he has been rated as highly satisfied with his marriage; if we punch out the fourth dot after the bracketed (*2*), it will show that he was born after 1890, and so on, until his sheet is dotted over with hundreds of these informative holes.

Now it may be that we ought to have dealt with the "highly" and the "fairly" satisfied spouses as a single group, and that various other findings which were separately classified ought to have been thrown together as conforming to a single, more general type. It is a simple matter to provide for such contingencies: after most of the bracketed numerals are some extra dots which can be used for this purpose. Thus the sixth dot after the bracketed (*1*) will be punched for all spouses who have been rated as either "highly" or "fairly" satisfied with their marriages. For reasons which will shortly appear, such groupings in any individual's pattern card are quite essential to our scheme.

It is understood, of course, that a separate card has been used for each of the 200 spouses. Let us now suppose that we wish to know how many and what things are true of all the 17 men who stated, categorically, that their wives are physically like their mothers. We have before us a table with a glass top, under which is placed a bright light, and on this glass table top we place in a single stack the pattern cards of these 17 men. Wherever the light shines up through the stack we know that it is because a particular one of the 5,429 dots has been punched out of each of the

17 cards. We make a note of each place through which the light shines from below, and by referring to our key of symbols we can quickly discover how many and what things were revealed by the original case records to be true of all 17 men alike. We have identified a sequence of past experiences and present attitudes, predicaments and habitual modes of performance which, in its identical form, is a fact about—not one, but seventeen different men.

This may sound like a very simple and easy task, but in actual practise it is a very difficult and complex one. For one thing, our records have already shown that many things were true of seventy, eighty, or even ninety percent of all women or all men; hence it follows that the presence of these in identical sequences may have no important meaning. Another factor which greatly complicates the task of looking for identical sequences calls for a more extensive explanation:

We have found in medicine that there is almost no symptom which, if taken out of context with the syndrome in which it occurs, can be safely explained in terms of its usual determination. Jaundice, for example, is very frequently due to a blocking of the common bile duct by one or more gall stones, but it can also be due to the pressure of a pancreatic cancer against this duct. In the latter event the jaundice is not primarily due to a disorder in any part of the liver apparatus. So is it with such "symptoms" as inability to have the orgasm or being extremely dissatisfied with your spouse. Such predicaments may occur as components of extensive phenomenal sequences which are encountered with suggestive frequency but we must not expect that any given type of past experience, or present predicament, attitude, etc., will always be found to have the same types of phenomenal associations. An example of the difficulties which grow out of this circumstance when one is looking for identical genetic sequences or patterns is already at hand if we return to the 17 men

who stated, categorically, that their wives are like their mothers in physical appearance. With their cards in a stack on the glass table in front of us no light shines up through any hole to indicate that there may be a suggestive relationship between "physical-resemblance-of-wife-to-mother" and "degree-of-satisfaction-with-the-marriage-as-a-whole." If you do not already know that this is a likely combination, you will probably overlook it unless you sort each card over the illuminated glass top with all other cards of the stack one at a time, noting the hole identities with each sorting. After you have done this you will find that 16 of the 17 cards which are punched to indicate "physical-resemblance-of-wife-to-mother" are also punched to indicate "either-a-high-or-a-fair-degree-of-satisfaction-with-the-marriage-as-a-whole." This would not be a very difficult task if we were merely looking for two-point combinations instead of extensive identical sequences. It is very difficult when ten-point or twenty-point identical combinations are involved.*

II

My assistants, Gladys Terry and Doris Zinn, are doing a research with the 200 pattern-card records, and it is my expectation that at some future date they will be able to publish some interesting material concerning identities of dynamic sequences and patterns. At present they are engaged in sorting these 200 perforated cards into provisional groups with reference to such outstanding features as extreme dissatisfaction with the marriage as a whole, homosexuality, inadequate orgasm capacity in women, marked tendencies toward post-marital promiscuity, etc. I have borrowed a few fragments from their notes to illustrate the general intention of this phase of our work.

* The Census Bureau and scientists in their private laboratories who deal statistically with their material have mechanical devices to facilitate such computations, but our work is still at a too tentative and experimental stage to make their use feasible.

Mrs. Terry's initial sorting of the 100 cards which represent the case records of the women is beginning to show that certain small groups stand out as presenting suggestive identities of earlier experiences and present predicaments, attitudes and habitual modes of performance. The fact that these groups are automatically determined by her method of sorting cards, and not by her personal judgments, is a matter which I wish particularly to stress. In one hitherto unsuspected group the cards of four women were all alike in the sense that they showed holes to indicate the following features:

Identical Points in the Records of Four Women *

1. Extremely dissatisfied with their marriages, none having secured more than three points when they were graded as to marital satisfaction (see Chapter III).
2. Have had sex intercourse with men other than their husbands since marriage.
3. Are inadequate as to orgasm capacity.
4. Find their husbands sexually unsatisfactory.
5. Husbands find them sexually unsatisfactory.
6. It is often a matter of submission on their part when they have the sex act with their husbands.
7. Mention qualities which render their husbands unattractive sexually.
8. State that their husbands are under-sexed.
9. Would like to increase their husbands' sex desire or modify its usual modes of expression.
10. Their husbands' orgasms occur too quickly for their (the women's) own pleasure.
11. They often feel unsatisfied after their husbands' orgasms have occurred.
12. Would derive greater pleasure from copulation with men other than their husbands.
13. They are still masturbating.
14. They still have sex daydreams.
15. They are now in love with men other than their husbands.

* It would be impossible for any person to infer the identity of these four women from this list of points, but I suspect that every woman in the total list of those who are engaged in literary or artistic pursuits and who have been adulterous will be a little uneasy lest she be one of them. The fact that there is no one point in the list that is not discoverable in a considerable number of the records must be borne in mind by persons who may try to guess who these four women are.

16. Each has had at least two post-marital love affairs.
17. Each has had a total of at least eight pre-marital and post-marital love affairs.
18. Mention past or present fears that they may lack charm in the eyes of men.
19. Mention past or present fears that men may find them physically unattractive.
20. Mention past or present fears that they may be unpopular with men.
21. Find women sexually attractive to at least some degree.
22. Have a present, definite (physical) narcissistic tendency.
23. Are engaged in literary or artistic pursuits.

It is very suggestive, in my opinion, that these four women whose records present in common all of the above points should also have had in common the following types of earlier experiences:

24. Fonder of father than of mother during childhood.
25. Always on affectionate terms with father during childhood.
26. Not demonstrative with mother during childhood.
27. Not on friendly terms with mother during childhood.
28. During childhood felt jealousy, hostility, hatred, etc., toward family female in rivalry for affection of a family male.
29. In accounting for fondness for parents points were in favor of father or against mother.
30. Mention attractive physical features in describing father.
31. Had either no or only inadequate information about sex matters from parents during childhood.
32. Childhood exhibitions of curiosity about sex matters met with rebuff, evasion, or embarrassment on parents' part.
33. Had no or only inadequate mental preparation for the first menstruation.
34. First menstruation elicited disturbing mental reactions.
35. Remember episodes of childhood nastiness.

Of course the records of these four women present a great many more than the above points in common. Mrs. Terry jotted down in her notes only the points that might have some significance when they occur in sequence. She has before her a number of difficult problems in statistical method which will have to be solved before anything more than a descriptive value can be claimed for such recurring

combinations as are illustrated by the concurrence of these 35 points in four separate records.

Mrs. Zinn is sorting the 100 pattern-cards of the men with a view to isolating combinations which may prove, in the end, to conform to identifiable psychodynamic patterns. Her task is likely to be a less quickly productive one than Mrs. Terry's because, as I have said elsewhere, facts relating to the sexual maladjustments of men do not, as a rule, stand out as sharply as is the case with women. Her provisional groupings of cases with reference to identical combinations of holes in the pattern cards include a group of three men whose records have 98 points in common. Although many of these points would probably be without meaning in any combination in which they might occur, the total number is so great as to be in itself a suggestive finding. I have taken from her notes only those points that at the present time seem to me to have a possible dynamic value as components of total psychodynamic patterns:

Identical Points in the Records of Three Men

1. Fear that sex organ may be below normal in size.
2. This fear has been a source of humiliation to them.
3. Rate themselves as below normal in sexual potency.
4. Mention sexual and emotional maladjustments with their wives.
5. Have had sex intercourse with other women, either before or after marriage.
6. Either know, or have suspected, wives' relations with other men.
7. Mention qualities which render their wives less attractive sexually than is desirable.
8. Believe that they are ill-mated intellectually.
9. Felt dissatisfaction with their marriages within two years after marriage.
10. Have masturbated since marriage.
11. Believe that masturbation has been injurious to them mentally or physically.
12. Self-confidence grade of each is below the individual average for all the 100 men of our study.
13. Believe they have a general lack of self-confidence.
14. Fear that they appear under-sized, lacking in courage, socially awkward and "easy marks" in the eyes of men.

15. Fear that they may appear under-sized and socially awkward in the eyes of women.
16. Lack self-confidence as to vocational ability.
17. Believe themselves to be more modest than the average adult male in the matter of exposing themselves to women.
18. Have indulged in sexual peeping since maturity.
19. Disclaim any fear of showing affection for boys or men (but impressed the examiner as having this kind of fear to a striking degree).
20. Do not like to have men display affection for them (i.e., ordinary, socially allowable displays of male affection).
21. Never imagined themselves in homosexual situations while having sexual fantasies.
22. No male would appeal to them sexually.
23. Have copulated with women from the rear.
24. Such copulation seems unnatural to them.
25. Have been able to have orgasms by copulating with women from the rear.
26. Have indulged in cunnilingus or submitted to fellatio in sex plays with women.
27. Still have sex daydreams.
28. Emissions during sleeping dreams had a depressing effect on them.
29. At camp revert to slovenly personal habits.
30. If they could make their wives over, each of the three men would change his wife in each of the following qualities: eyes, complexion, sex organ, temper, talkativeness, intelligence, social standing, and serious-mindedness.

Mrs. Zinn found that the three cards which had been so punched that when they were stacked together on the illuminated table the light shone through holes to indicate all of the above points also showed some interesting identities of past experiences. In other words, the men of whom all the above things are now true had in common the following types of earlier experience:

31. Unsatisfactory relationship existed between subjects and their fathers.
32. Fonder of mother than of father during childhood.
33. Mother at least 3 years younger than father.
34. Always on affectionate terms with mother save during occasional irritable outbursts.
35. More affectionate than usual with her after irritable outbursts.

36. Prefer girls somewhat like mother in general physical appearance.
37. Had one or more sisters.
38. Refer to unattractive physical and mental qualities of sisters.
39. Had flashes of sex feeling toward family females.
40. Remember sadistic episodes of childhood.
41. Remember masochistic episodes of childhood.
42. Remember episodes of (physical) narcissistic behavior.
43. Remember urethral and anal-erotic tendencies during childhood.
44. Remember episodes of nasty behavior during childhood.
45. Had fantasies which gave sexual sensations before they knew anything about sex matters.
46. First remembered curiosity about sex matters came between 6 and 7.
47. No other person suggested masturbation to them.
48. No other person handled their sex organs.
49. Curiosity to see sex parts of females has been present since early childhood.

CHAPTER XXII

Summary

I

The findings of my research are given in such condensed form in the foregoing chapters that an adequate summary of them would be almost equivalent to their repetition, but there are a few outstanding points which need to be brought together in this final chapter. The first of these has reference to the research value of the work as a whole. It has shown, in my opinion, that it is not only methodologically possible, but, from a practical standpoint, profitable to respect the familiar rules of scientific evidence even when we seek to describe and explain such complex manifestations of human nature as have been dealt with here. From a psychobiological viewpoint most of the significant phenomena of adult human life are directly observable in the form of what the individual has to say about himself and his past and present interactions with persons and things: the contents of the foregoing tables show that he can be induced to talk about such matters freely, truthfully, and intimately even when the method of examination has been so rigidly stereotyped that it can be reasonably expected to insure a valid degree of comparability of his verbal productions with those of all persons of a properly selected group.

The second point which I wish to stress is that an adequately extensive study of marital relations by methods which aim at securing comparable data may reasonably be expected to disclose—*specifically*—the various factors that may importantly enter into the determination of individual capacity for adjustment to marriage in its general as well as in its narrowly sexual aspects. This, I think, is the

really significant implication of the many tables of descriptive correlations when they are viewed as a whole. Viewed statistically, they cannot be said to have done more than to disclose various explanatory possibilities; but when, in imagination, one multiplies the total number of cases studied by ten, it is easy to see how much more intelligently we could proceed to deal with the problems of sex and marriage if we could subject our currently accepted guesses and impressions to the impersonal and realistic tests of science. The more concretely factual points that are presented in what follows are as much intended to exemplify this one general point as to bring together a few suggestive figures:

II

An objective method of grading the 200 spouses as to degree of satisfaction with their marriages as a whole * rated 29 men and 21 women as having expressed a relatively high degree of satisfaction, 22 men and 24 women a fair degree of satisfaction, 13 men and 14 women a considerable degree of dissatisfaction, and 36 men and 41 women a high degree of dissatisfaction. Thus it appears that, although there were 55 couples in the entire group, the women were, on the whole, less well satisfied with their marriages than were the men. Correlations of these findings with data relating to the childhood and adolescence of the spouses disclose a number of different possible determinants of inability to effect satisfactory adjustments to the marital situation as a whole which were apparently operative long before adult years were reached. Some of the more suggestive of these correlations follow directly:

(1) It seems possible that satisfying contacts with the mother during childhood may so condition the male that when he reaches maturity only a mother type of mate will satisfy him. Thus we find that, of the 17 men who stated categorically that their wives were physically "like" or

* Chapter III.

"very like" their mothers, 16 were rated as having expressed a fair or a high degree of satisfaction with their own marriages. Of the 60 men who married women physically "unlike" their mothers, only 21 belong to the satisfied group. This factor of physical likeness or unlikeness of spouse to parent of the same sex as the spouse did not appear to be an important factor in the case of the women.

(2) With the men the factor of mental resemblance of spouse to mother appeared to be of some importance in determining their satisfaction with their marriages, but of less importance than physical resemblance. 66.67 percent of the men whose spouses mentally resembled their mothers and 49.06 percent of those who disclaimed such a resemblance belong to the satisfied group. There were 53.85 percent of satisfied wives among those whose husbands mentally resembled their fathers, and only 38.60 percent satisfied ones among those who disclaimed such resemblance.

(3) It is theoretically possible that the general reactive value of femaleness is importantly determined for men during their childhood by their contacts with mothers and sisters. Conversely, the fathers and brothers of women may determine for them, during childhood, the general reactive value of maleness as such. The most striking bit of evidence that our material affords in support of this possibility is found in the circumstance that, of the 11 women who, alone, made any reference whatsoever to a physically unattractive quality in describing their fathers, 10 were rated as dissatisfied with their husbands. Eight of the 13 men who alluded to physically unattractive qualities in their mothers belong to the dissatisfied group.

Here, again, the mental qualities of the parent of the opposite sex appear to be a less important factor in the psychosexual development of the child than do physical qualities: 55 percent of the men and 56.09 percent of the women who alluded to undesirable traits of disposition in

the parent of the opposite sex belong to the dissatisfied groups.

Our findings suggest that men who have sisters and women who have brothers are more likely to be satisfied with their spouses than those who have none: 55.41 percent of the men who had sisters and 38.46 percent of those who had no sisters were satisfied with their wives; 51.52 percent of the women who had brothers and 32.35 percent of those who had none were satisfied with their husbands.

The men were asked to describe the mental and physical qualities of their sisters and the women to do likewise for their brothers. Our correlations bring out some very suggestive points here: 71.43 percent of the men who alluded to only attractive physical qualities in their sisters and 41.67 percent of those who made any reference to unattractive physical qualities in their sisters belong to the spousally satisfied group. This is what we might expect, but we find that the opposite of it is true of the women: 62.50 percent of those who referred to *unattractive* physical qualities in their brothers and only 45.83 percent of those who referred to attractive qualities were satisfied with their husbands. This apparent inconsistency may merely mean that we are dealing here with some accidental and therefore meaningless combinations of figures, but there is evidence elsewhere that supports a more suggestive possibility. It was shown in *Table 199* that, whereas only 41.67 percent of all women who alluded to attractive physical qualities in their brothers are capable of having the orgasm in the sex act, all the women, without exception, who alluded to unattractive physical qualities in describing their brothers are adequate as to orgasm capacity. Furthermore, although, as our figures have already shown, a woman's chance of finding her marriage (or husband) generally satisfactory appears to be greater if she has had a brother than if she has had none, a higher percentage of

brotherless wives are able to have the orgasm than of wives who have had brothers!

64.71 percent of the men who alluded to desirable qualities only in their sisters and 51.79 percent of those who alluded to undesirable mental qualities belong in the satisfied spousal groups. The corresponding figures for the women are 66.67 percent and 49.12 percent.

(4) The harmony or discord between parents that is observed by their children may reasonably be expected to be of some importance in the determination of the children's ability to develop into satisfied and satisfactory spouses. Our findings are less convincing on this score than, perhaps, most persons would expect them to be. All of us have a way of generalizing from a few intimately personal observations, which can easily be misleading. Only 64 men and 65 women stated, categorically, whether their parents got along "well" together or "not well." The others so qualified their answers that they could not be used for purposes of correlation without being first interpreted, which, of course, can't be done by an investigator who objects to being fooled by the echo of his own voice. Only these 129 cases therefore figure in our next presentation: of the men, 45.45 percent of those whose parents got along well together and 40 percent of those whose parents did not get along well together were satisfied with their own wives; the corresponding percentages for the women are 54.55 percent and 33.33 percent, which are somewhat more impressive. Even separation or divorce of the parents does not seem to be always fatal to a child's chance of ultimately finding satisfaction in a marriage of its own: of the 10 men whose parents were either separated or divorced, 4 were satisfied with their wives; of the 14 women with a similar history as to parental separation or divorce, 5 were satisfied with their husbands. This suggests, nevertheless, that children from discordant families do not make the best matrimonial "risks."

(5) Among the findings which surprised me was the one which suggests that a man is more likely to be satisfied with a wife who is from 1 to 3 years his senior than with a wife who is his junior. The men were divided into 5 groups with reference to relative spousal ages: 3 whose wives were from 7 to 10 years their seniors; 13 whose wives were from 1 to 3 years their seniors; 10 whose wives were of equal age; 55 whose wives were from 1 to 5 years their juniors, and 19 whose wives were more than 5 years their juniors. For reasons which are too specifically identifying to be given here, all 3 men who married women who were 7 years or more their seniors had seriously unsatisfactory marriages. If we exclude this somewhat freakish group, which is obviously not comparable with the other 4 groups, reference to *Table 462* brings out some interesting possibilities. Thus we find the highest percentage (61.54 percent) of satisfied husbands among those who married women who were 1 to 3 years older than themselves, and the lowest percentage of satisfied ones (47.37 percent) among those whose wives were more than 5 years their juniors. In the case of the women, all 4 who married men who were 7 years or more younger than themselves were dissatisfied. Disregarding this small group, we find that the highest percentage (72.73 percent) of satisfied wives is in the group whose husbands were their own age, and the lowest percentage of satisfied ones in the groups whose husbands were 1 to 5 years older than they. It is somewhat surprising to find that, although only 45 percent of all 100 women were rated as satisfied with their husbands, 48.15 percent of those who married men more than 5 years their seniors have this rating. Some of the happiest marriages that I have known have been those in which the wife was as much as 15 or even 20 years the husband's senior, and in my clinical work I have encountered many cases in which men have established exceptionally happy marriages with

women who were as much as a whole generation of years younger than themselves.

(6) The description and explanation of marital sex adjustments was, of course, the most important objective of my research, but I find myself reluctant to say anything in this final chapter which might be construed to mean that I have pretended to do more than to present a considerable mass of descriptive material for the purpose of improving our general orientation as to the nature of the phenomena with which we have to deal in considering marital sex problems. Correlations of finding with finding were studied, of course; but this was done for the sake of disclosing any suggestive explanatory possibilities which might appear, and not with the expectation that any hard and fast conclusions could be reached.

The extent to which a husband's satisfaction with his marital situation as a whole is dependent on his own or his wife's specifically sexual adequacy is a matter about which I am now much more doubtful than I was at the beginning of this research. In the case of a woman, on the other hand, I have a stronger suspicion than ever that unless she is frigid, or at least very much under-sexed, marriage to a man who is definitely inferior as to either sex desire or sex capacity is not likely to be successful. Some of our findings in this field are of interest:

Twenty-two women described their husbands as under-sexed, and of these only 4 belong to the group of wives who were rated as generally satisfied with their marriages. Twenty-four men described their wives as under-sexed, and 12 of these men belong to the satisfied-husband group—only 51 percent of all 100 men belonged to the satisfied group.

Only 6 of the 16 men who rated their wives as over-sexed and 5 of the 16 wives who rated their husbands as over-sexed belong to the satisfied group.

If we except the obviously homosexual women and those who were exclusively interested in masturbation as a means

of obtaining sexual satisfaction, only 1 of the 46 women who were incapable of having the true orgasm could be properly described as frigid. As a matter of fact, inability to arrive at this releasing and terminative climax in the sex act is more usually associated with intense and frequently recurring sex desire than it is with subnormal desire. This may account for the fact that, although the no-orgasm group includes the homosexuals and the excessive masturbators, 41.30 percent of them were generally satisfied with their husbands, as compared with 48.15 percent of similarly satisfied women in the group of 54 women who are more or less adequate as to orgasm capacity.

(7) All subjects were asked to rate themselves as to the degree of their own sex desire. Correlations of these ratings with their objectively established ratings as to general satisfaction with the general marital situation are very interesting:

Own Estimate of Sex Desire

Above average.....24 men: 41.67% belong to the satisfied group
About average.....53 men: 54.72% belong to the satisfied group
Below average.....18 men: 55.56% belong to the satisfied group
Unclassified answers ..... 5 men

Above average.....29 women: 41.38% belong to the satisfied group
About average.....41 women: 41.46% belong to the satisfied group
Below average.....20 women: 50.00% belong to the satisfied group
Unclassified answers .....10 women

(8) An interesting finding, which I cannot undertake to interpret without indulging in profitless speculation, relates to the frequency of the sex act during the first year of marriage.

In order to make this table of correlations as simple and as easy to read as possible, let us use (A) to represent

those who copulated more frequently than four times a week during the first year, (B) for those who copulated not less than once but not more than four times a week, and (C) for those who copulated less than once a week:

(A) More than four times a week	23	men: 34.78% belong to the satisfied group
(B) One to four times a week	64	men: 57.81% belong to the satisfied group
(C) Less than weekly	10	men: 50.00% belong to the satisfied group
Not classified	3	men
(A) More than four times a week	29	women: 34.48% belong to the satisfied group
(B) One to four times a week	48	women: 47.92% belong to the satisfied group
(C) Less than weekly	12	women: 58.33% belong to the satisfied group
Not classified	11	women

Of course very few of the spouses could do better than give rough estimates as to how frequently they had copulated during the first year, and some of them, as has been seen, were so uncertain about it that their answers were not classifiable.

(9) It was not surprising that 97 of the 100 men and 74 of the 100 women had masturbated at some time or other in their lives after they were old enough to remember it; but I had not expected that only 17 men and 42 women (see *Table 377*) could categorically deny that they had masturbated since marriage. There were 16 men and 11 women who not only admitted that they were still masturbating, but that they were indulging in this habit "frequently" or at least as frequently as once a week. Of these 27 spouses, only 2 men and 1 woman were rated as generally satisfied with their marriages. One explanation of this fact might be that they masturbated because they were unhappy with their spouses, but it is more probable that their markedly autoerotic tendencies and their inability to effect satisfactory adjustments to the marital situation as a whole were

common resultants of factors which were operative in their lives far back in childhood. I regret that an extensive history of each of these cases cannot be given here without violation of their confidences.

(10) The younger generation is displaying a considerable interest in the theory that marriage need not be monogamous in order to be successful. In fact, it seemed to me that the majority of the young wives who had indulged in adulterous sex relations had done so more out of loyalty to a belief in spousal sex freedom than in response to anything suggestive of an overwhelming sex urge. They were all asked to state their opinions as to what circumstances justify adultery. These opinions, which varied from a stern "Nothing justifies adultery" to an almost piously uttered conviction that "Passion is its own justification," fall into three general groups: (A) the conservative, which includes those who believe that adultery is with difficulty if at all justifiable, (B) the liberal, which includes those who take the middle ground, and (C) the radical. Their distribution according to degree of satisfaction with their own marriages is as follows:

Conservative ..... 15 men: 40.00% belong to the satisfied group
Liberal ..... 69 men: 55.07% belong to the satisfied group
Radical ..... 16 men: 43.75% belong to the satisfied group

Conservative ..... 32 women: 46.88% belong to the satisfied group
Liberal ..... 55 women: 45.45% belong to the satisfied group
Radical ..... 13 women: 38.46% belong to the satisfied group

A much more suggestive correlation than the above is found to exist between the orgasm capacity of women and the nature of their opinions as to the justifiability of adultery:

Conservative .....32 women: 62.50% are adequate as to orgasm capacity
Liberal .....55 women: 52.73% are adequate as to orgasm capacity
Radical .....13 women: 38.46% are adequate as to orgasm capacity

(11) Fifty-nine of the men and 47 of the women had had illicit sex intercourse either before or after marriage, which suggests to men of my own generation that the men are growing less, and the women more, inclined to be promiscuous. Unfortunately there were not enough older women in our group to enable us to test this possibility for their sex, but the figures for the men are suggestive:

Born 1880 or earlier.....10 men: 20.00% had no sex experience before marriage
Born 1881 to 1885.....13 men: 38.46% had no sex experience before marriage
Born 1886 to 1890.....36 men: 50.00% had no sex experience before marriage
Born after 1890.....41 men: 51.22% had no sex experience before marriage

(12) Twenty-eight men and 24 women had committed adultery. The next table gives the distribution of these cases according to their rating as to satisfaction with the general marital situation:

Have committed adultery. 28 men: 28.57% belong to the satisfied group
Have not committed adultery ..... 72 men: 59.72% belong to the satisfied group

Have committed adultery. 24 women: 16.67% belong to the satisfied group
Have not committed adultery ..... 76 women: 53.96% belong to the satisfied group

(13) The next table suggests that men who are virgins at marriage are much more likely to remain monogamous after marriage than are those who have sex experience before marriage, but that the factor of virginity at marriage is unimportant in this respect in the case of women:

Have committed adultery. 28 men: 17.86% were virgins at marriage
Have not committed adultery ..... 72 men: 56.94% were virgins at marriage

Have committed adultery. 24 women: 50.00% were virgins at marriage
Have not committed adultery ..... 76 women: 50.00% were virgins at marriage

(14) The relation of virginity at marriage to ability to effect a satisfactory adjustment to the situation as a whole is of some interest:

Were not virgins at marriage ..... 54 men: 46.30% belong to the satisfied group
Were virgins at marriage. 46 men: 56.52% belong to the satisfied group

Were not virgins at marriage ..... 35 women: 37.14% belong to the satisfied group
Were virgins at marriage. 65 women: 49.23% belong to the satisfied group

(15) The popular impression that women tolerate sexual inadequacy in their husbands less well than men tolerate it in their wives seems to have some foundation in fact:

*Complained of wife's sexual inadequacy...38 men: 68.42%
No such complaint.....62 men: 37.10%
} belong to the generally dissatisfied group

*Complained of husband's sexual inadequacy .....20 women: 90.00%
No such complaint.....80 women: 46.03%
} belong to the generally dissatisfied group

II

Fifty-four of the 100 women were rated as relatively normal, or adequate, as to capacity for experiencing the orgasm in the sex act. The other 46 women belong to a sharply defined group in the sense that they (a) have never had the orgasm, (b) are doubtful if they ever had it, (c) have had it, at most, only two or three times in all their lives, or (d) have only the multiple, spurious, probably cli-

* See *Table 16.*

toridal, minor climaxes that are usually the goal of female masturbators. Frigid women do not, of course, have the orgasm, and this is also usually true of female homosexuals who are truly homosexual and not bisexual. On the other hand, in most cases other than these exceptional ones, the married woman who is incapable of the orgasm typically has more intense and frequently recurring sex desire than is experienced by women who are adequate as to orgasm capacity. From almost every standpoint only the truly frigid woman (of whom there was but one in our group of 100 women) can afford to ignore an absent or seriously lacking orgasm capacity. Unless the sex act ends in a fully releasing, fully terminative climax in at least 20 per-cent of copulations there is likely to be trouble ahead. The least serious consequence is a chronic sense of tense, rest-less unsatisfaction. It is, I think, one of the most sug-gestive findings of my research that, of the 46 women who are inadequate as to orgasm capacity, 20 had been diag-nosed at one time or another in their lives as more or less seriously psychoneurotic. These diagnoses were made by psychiatrists other than myself. *Only one of the 54 women who could have orgasms with reasonable frequency had ever been regarded as psychoneurotic.*

Although inability to have the orgasm and more or less serious nervous symptoms occur together with significant frequency, it is only in a qualified sense that we can regard one as a resultant of the other. Chronic sexual unsatis-faction may augment or even precipitate nervous symp-toms, but the weight of evidence is strongly in favor of the view that when a psychoneurosis and an inadequate orgasm capacity occur together in a woman they must be regarded as resultants of a common cause. The present investiga-tion has disclosed a considerable number of possible factors which may enter into the determination of inadequate or-gasm capacity, some of which are brought together in the

next several paragraphs. We are referring here, of course, exclusively to women:

(1) One occasionally encounters a case in which a woman with an originally normal orgasm capacity has lost it concurrently with the development of symptoms pointing to a disorder of the hypophysis (pituitary gland), which suggests, of course, that a depression or lack of orgasm capacity may, in some cases, be due to physiological factors. My grounds for believing that only exceptional cases of inadequate orgasm capacity are due to other than *psychological* factors form a considerable part of the main text of this book; hence the difficulty of doing justice to them in a summary.

The factors that appear to point in a physiological direction will be considered first:

First menstruated before 12th year	12 women: 25.00%	had orgasm first year of marriage
First menstruated 12 to 14.	70 women: 32.86%	
First menstruated after 14th year	18 women: 55.55%	
First menstruated before 12th year	12 women: 33.33%	have present adequate orgasm capacity
First menstruated 12 to 14.	70 women: 55.71%	
First menstruated after 14th year	18 women: 61.11%	
More than 30 days between menstruations....	12 women: 66.67%	have present adequate orgasm capacity
Menstruate every 28 to 30 days.....	66 women: 53.03%	
Less than 28 days between menstruations....	18 women: 38.89%	
Not classified.....	4 women	
Menstruation may normally exceed 5 days....	18 women: 61.11%	have present adequate orgasm capacity
Menstruation normally lasts 5 days.....	19 women: 63.16%	
Menstruation never exceeds 4 days.....	38 women: 47.37%	
Not classified.....	25 women	

Period of Maximum Sex Desire

Just after menstruation only	25 women	80.00%	have adequate orgasm capacity
Just before menstruation only	14 women	50.00%	have adequate orgasm capacity
Just before and just after menstruation	21 women	47.62%	have adequate orgasm capacity
During the menstrual flow	11 women	45.45%	have adequate orgasm capacity
Have no periodicity of sex desire	19 women	47.37%	have adequate orgasm capacity
Cases not classifiable	10 women		

Have marked pre-menstrual depression	11 women	27.27%	have adequate orgasm capacity
Have unspecified degree of pre-menstrual depression	43 women	58.14%	have adequate orgasm capacity
Have no pre-menstrual depression	19 women	72.22%	have adequate orgasm capacity
Cases are not classifiable	27 women		

(2) Among the findings which lead me to believe that in time we shall find that the above correlations have an essentially psychological rather than a physiological significance is this: 18 of the 42 women who have had orgasms during erotic sleeping dreams belong to the inadequate-orgasm-capacity group, and several of these women have assured me that, although they have never once experienced any kind of orgasm while awake, their sleeping orgasms are typically vivid, releasing, and terminative.

(3) Our findings strongly suggest, as has just been shown, that women who first menstruate after they are 14 have a much better chance of having the orgasm when they grow up than do women who menstruate before they are 12. I suspect that an explanation for this will ultimately be that the earlier sex is brought to an issue with a girl by the onset of puberty the less likely are the negative conditionings of her childhood to have faded. For the first five or six years after a female child is born we probably do our most effective work in making her afraid and ashamed of all that pertains to sex, after which we are ourselves

ashamed to recognize, in her presence, that there are such things as sex organs. Freud speaks of a latency period, which sets in at the end of this infantile period, and is characterized by a lapse of open and unashamed interest in sex matters. Our findings suggest that a considerable number of female children do not have a latency period in this sense—which means, of course, that for them sex continues to be more or less an issue throughout childhood, and that the negative conditionings acquired during the first 5 years of life have less chance of fading from lack of incitants to active function than is the case with those who have a latency period. We should expect, therefore, that women for whom puberty was not preceded by a latency period will be less likely to have the orgasm than will those who had a latency period. This proved to be true of the women of our study:

Had latency period of some sort	65 women	63.05%	have adequate orgasm capacity
Had no latency period	23 women	30.43%	
Don't know about it	12 women		

(4) Parental attitude must necessarily be an important factor in determining for the child the reactive value of any type of situation which is a joint product of its own urges and of external circumstance. Even though intellectually held considerations may later cause the child to reverse the parents' openly or tacitly defined appraisal of a given mode of behavior as good or bad, it will probably never acquire inner freedom to follow its own judgments in the matter. It is doubtful, for example, if a person who is brought up a rigid Sabbatarian can ever enter as spontaneously into the pleasures of Sunday golf or Sunday fishing as he would like. He may not be aware of his inner unfreedom in the matter, but he is likely to betray it in all sorts of ways, including jocular but defensive allusions to his own impiety. The importance to the child of parental attitude

toward sex is a matter which, in itself, deserves the most extensive possible research. Correlations between the present orgasm capacity of the women of our study and what they recall as to their early instruction in sex matters brought out some suggestive findings:

Age at Which It Was First Learned That Babies Were Born of Their Mothers' Bodies (Table 234)

Don't remember; before the age of 6	25 women:	84.00%	have adequate orgasm capacity
Between the ages of 6 and 11	44 women:	45.45%	
At 12 or older	31 women:	41.96%	

Parents' Reaction to Early Sex Curiosities

Encouragement	15 women:	73.33%	have adequate orgasm capacity
Neither encouragement nor rebuff	9 women:	55.56%	
Didn't disclose curiosities to parents	41 women:	53.66%	
Met with rebuff	16 women:	50.00%	
Met with stiffness, embarrassment, lies, etc.	19 women:	42.11%	

Source of First Sex Information

Inferences from reading, seeing animals, hearing Faust, or copulating	7 women:	71.43%	have adequate orgasm capacity
Mother, stepmother, foster-mother	26 women:	65.38%	
Contemporary children	48 women:	54.17%	
Received no information	2 women:	50.00%	
Older persons other than parents	13 women:	38.46%	
Father or brother	4 women:	0.00%	

(5) Correlations between the first remembered sex curiosity and present orgasm capacity bring out some facts which are difficult to interpret unless we assume (1) that those who do not remember that they were ever curious about sex matters were so effectually rebuked during early childhood that they developed an amnesia for their wickedness in having such curiosities, and (2) that those who do

not remember when their sex curiosity began encountered such a matter-of-fact parental attitude toward the subject that nothing occurred to fix a date in their minds:

Age at First Remembered Sex Curiosity			
Don't remember when it began	9 women	77.78%	have adequate orgasm capacity
At 12 or older	22 women	63.64%	
Between the ages of 6 and 11	41 women	53.66%	
Before the age of 6	22 women	40.91%	
Remember no sex curiosity	6 women	33.33%	

(6) The nature of the earliest sex information might easily be a factor in determining the reactive value of sex at that level of organic function at which no or only hypothetical ("unconscious") psychical functions occur. Here, as throughout the long and arduous task of analyzing my material, I wish that it had been possible to study a thousand instead of a hundred women, so that the correlations might have acquired significance rather than mere suggestiveness:

Nature of First Sex Information			
Copulation at 16	1 woman	100.00%	have adequate orgasm capacity
The mother's but not the father's function	24 women	70.83%	
Don't remember	8 women	62.50%	
Fairly full and adequate information	17 women	58.82%	
Vague or insufficient information	16 women	43.75%	
Incorrectly or repellently presented information	29 women	41.38%	
References to reproduction of birds, flowers, etc.	5 women	40.00%	

(7) The figures showing the correlations between reactions to first remembered sex information and present orgasm capacity are so contrary to what I had expected, and seem to be so inconsistent with the implications of the

above presented correlations, that I should be inclined to reappraise all my tables of correlations as presentations of meaningless material if it were not for one very suggestive circumstance: they are consistent with the findings as to reaction to the first copulation. In what follows, we find that initially disagreeable reactions to (1) the first remembered sex information and (2) the first copulation appear to favor rather than to militate against the ultimate development of an adequate orgasm capacity. This gives us a kind of cumulative evidence which is too suggestive to be dismissed as merely a function of insufficient numbers:

Reaction to First Sex Information

Shock, revolt, repulsion, etc.	31 women:	64.52%	have adequate orgasm capacity
Took it as a matter of fact.	17 women:	52.94%	
Pleasantly affected by information	29 women:	44.83%	
Less definite answers	23 women		

Reaction to the First Copulation

Fear, disgust, or shock	24 women:	66.67%	have adequate orgasm capacity
Surprise	14 women:	57.14%	
Disappointment prevailed.	2 women:	50.00%	
Had no unfavorable reaction	57 women:	49.12%	
Interested, but didn't like it	1 woman:	0.00%	
Felt that it was wrong	1 woman:	0.00%	
Answer not classified	1 woman		

(8) A psychological colleague has suggested that since the first copulation is usually a source of some pain to a woman this may be a factor in determining an inadequate orgasm capacity, particularly when the rupture of the hymen is a severely painful experience. This possibility is only faintly, if at all, suggested by our findings:

First copulation not seriously painful	62 women:	54.84%	have adequate orgasm capacity
First copulation definitely painful	20 women:	50.00%	
First copulation seriously painful	17 women:	52.94%	
Answer not classified	1 woman		

(9) None of the 4 women who were victims of sex aggressions before the age of 6 can have the orgasm. In another group of 6 women, all of whom are alike in having only hazy memories of sex aggressions experienced during childhood, 5 are unable to have the orgasm. The adverse effect of being subjected to pre-marital sex aggression upon orgasm capacity after marriage is brought out in the next table:

Never victim of pre-marital sex aggression	54 women: 70.37%	have adequate orgasm capacity
Victim of pre-marital sex aggression	46 women: 34.78%	

(10) The main text contains so many points of evidence in support of the possibility that psychological factors are of prime importance in determining an inadequate orgasm capacity that a separate monograph would be required to do justice to them. I suggest that persons who are technically interested in the matter consult the original tables. Scattered throughout the text there is considerable evidence that fear of incestuous impulsions or aggressions may be the essential determinant of this incapacity, and that other factors which tend to establish a negative conditioning with reference to sex may have a reinforcing rather than a primarily determining value in the matter. This, however, is a point which calls for a much more extensive investigation than I have thus far been able to make. My material definitely suggests it as a possibility.

III

Incestuous imaginations and impulsions, homosexuality, the various so-called polymorphous perverse tendencies of infancy, the importance of marital economics as a source of spousal discontent, the sins of mothers as meddlers in the affairs of their married children, vocational and educational factors—all these are important points which are omitted from this summary because they do not need to be brought together in any more condensed form than that in

which they are presented in the main text. The findings relating to the sexual inadequacies of the men have been largely dealt with at a descriptive level for reasons which have been given elsewhere. With reference to the investigation as a whole, I have, naturally, a final word to say:

From one standpoint the research reported here has been an experiment in psychobiological method. It has tested the possibility of devising and applying an examination procedure which will meet two major requirements:

(1) The method of examination must be kept uniform for all persons of each sex, comparability of data being an essential objective.

(2) The persons under examination must be induced to go far beyond the "Yes," "No," and other barrenly categorical answers which are usually written down in response to the questions of a printed questionnaire. They must supply the richly contextual material that very few persons can give save when they are talking about themselves freely and informally.

The experiment has been successful in the sense that it has shown that serious-minded, educated persons will talk very freely indeed to a persistently silent psychiatrist in response to printed questions which they believe to have importance from a research standpoint. Nevertheless, to my own mind the method that has just been tested has somewhat the status of an early-model airplane which was made to fly through the air a few hundred feet. It has served its purpose and needs to be replaced by a long succession of increasingly better ones.

Perhaps the most important implication of the present study is already apparent to most readers, but it deserves a final emphasis here. If we are ever to have a scientifically grounded understanding of the more significant manifestations of human nature, we must first of all face the fact that this will require the accumulation of subjective data by methods which will insure their comparability in large

masses or groups. This will be a long, slow, patient task for not one, but many, investigators. It will be necessary for them to combine a fairly extensive clinical experience with an effective understanding of what constitutes sound methodology.

The method that was used in the present research is now in process of revision; hence the details of the one that will immediately replace it cannot now be given. There are, however, a few points which seem to me to be worth mentioning here:

(1) When several questions are presented on a single card a question here and there is likely to be slurred over by the person under examination. In the future I will present only one question on a card, and an effort will be made to formulate it in such a manner that it will have sufficient emphasis to insure a definite and well-elaborated answer-reaction.

(2) A larger number of cards containing information for the subjects' reassurance or to insure their understanding of unfamiliar terms will be used. These will, of course, be interpolated between the question cards in a fixed order. Care will be taken to avoid statements on these cards which might unduly prejudice the answers elicited by them.

(3) Greater attention will be paid to the need of obtaining chronological data.

(4) More questions will be asked concerning the subjects' relations to their fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, and own children.

(5) More contextual information will be sought concerning vocational aspirations, discouragements, successes, and defeats. From whatever angle of interest we may be studying human psychodynamics, the individual's subjective inferiorities and the factors that make for their determination must be taken into account. For tnis reason it is important to ask questions which will induce the subject

to talk about his ability to get and hold good jobs, to gain promotion, to make money, etc.

(6) The material presented in Chapters XVIII and XIX suggests that the individual need not be overtly anal erotic, sadistic, masochistic, incestuous, or homosexual in order to remember that such tabooed impulsions as these played a role in his earlier psycho-sexual life, or even to recognize vestiges of them in his present make-up. I now expect to use explanatory and reassuring "information" cards much more freely in an effort to test the possibility of securing well-elaborated answers to questions relating to the so-called "polymorphous perverse" field.

In the first chapter it was stated that: "The research of which an account is given in this volume proceeds from the following general problem:

"Is marriage in itself a faulty institution in that it prescribes a mode of relationship between spouses which tends, in the end, either seriously to impair or to destroy an originally established congeniality and an originally high sexual reactive value of spouse for spouse? Or does the fault lie essentially in the kinds of reactive equipment that environmental influences tend to build up for us throughout infancy, childhood, and adolescence?"

It seems to me that, whether we are considering the general congeniality of spouses or their ability to effect wholesome marital sex adjustments, the institution of marriage has fared rather better than might have been expected. We find, for example, that 96 of the 200 spouses were rated by the examiner as having disclosed a reasonable degree of satisfaction with their marital ventures. The subjects themselves gave us more optimistic figures: 109 of them stated that their marriages were successful. A still more impressive total was secured when 200 were asked, "If by some miracle you could press a button and find that you

had never been married to your spouse, would you press that button?'' One hundred and twenty-eight of them said ''No'' without qualification, and only 28 said, without hedging, that they would press the button. One hundred and fifty-one of the spouses said that they would wish to remarry if they were free. Only 13 of the 200 said ''No'' without qualification.

When we come to the more specifically sexual problems of marriage we find that, whereas only 36 of the 100 women had been able to have the normal, typical orgasm during the first year of marriage, this number had increased to 54 at the time of their examination. This somewhat unexpected finding suggests that, in spite of the staleness which is likely to enter into any kind of relationship between two human beings after they have been constantly together for more than a year, prolongation of the spousal tie beyond this period is more likely to be favorable than unfavorable to a woman's chances of overcoming the adverse sex conditionings of her pre-marital life.

When we turn to the records of the present research we find that the evidence impressively sums up to an indictment of what parents and society commonly do to the individual in their efforts to socialize his sex impulsions. There is also considerable evidence in support of the possibility that in many families the sons and daughters are so affected by their parents that when adult life is reached no conceivable mode of prolonged and intimate relationship with a person of the opposite sex is likely to end otherwise than disastrously. Taking the evidence as it falls into complex individual psychodynamic patterns, one cannot escape some quite definite convictions on this subject. Let us consider, for example, the case of a girl whose mother has kept her convinced from infancy onward that the father is an unworthy or an inferior person, or that of the boy whose mother has unwittingly tried to find in him the satisfaction of a love-hunger which her inhibitions will not permit her

to seek in her husband. This girl's name is legion, and so is the boy's. The odds are heavily against either the boy or the girl ever living contentedly with a mate. Modify the existing institution of marriage in any way you choose, or do away with it altogether, and still such victims of the "terrible mother" will find their problems unsolved. One might as hopefully undertake to prevent typhoid fever by inventing more comfortable beds for those who are already stricken to lie in.

I hold no brief either for or against the institution of marriage—how can anybody know its defects as a mode of relationship for intelligently reared persons until it is tried out with an intelligently reared generation? It doesn't work tolerably well for a seriously large percentage of American men and women; but, as our studies suggest, they are probably for the most part cripples whose deformities of psychodynamic organization are easily overlooked by the untrained observer. "There must be something wrong with that nice chap's wife or he wouldn't be contemplating divorce," was once said to me. The obvious retort (which had to be withheld for professional reasons) would have been, "If you knew his mother, you would advocate a law forbidding his marriage to any woman as sternly as the leper is forbidden a domicile with those who are untainted."

It is easy to fall into the error of assuming that, because our efforts to direct the psychosexual development of children and to regulate by law and social convention the sex lives of adults are chargeable with a vast amount of human misery, a diametrically opposite policy—or at least a radically different one—ought to be adopted. This is the familiar fallacy of assuming that we need only reverse a bad procedure in order to have a good one. If I were not discussing human sex problems, it would be a very trite thing, indeed, to say that no kind of human impulsion can be permitted to express itself without reference to various

biological and sociological expediencies, and that the sex impulsion is no exception to this rule. Such expediencies, whether they relate to hungers for non-sexual individual advantage or to the sex hunger, must be given effective recognition in tuitional impositions which affect the immature periods of life and in the laws and conventions that aim at the regulation of adult conduct. It is unlikely that a safe definition of these expediencies can be arrived at otherwise than by the realistic methods of scientific research. At any rate, the task must not be approached in the spirit of the advocate with loyalties directed for or against particular religious beliefs or semi-speculative, quasi-scientific psychiatric doctrines.

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